The Historical Outlook

A JOURNAL FOR

READERS AND TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine

EDITED IN CO-OPERATION WITH A

COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

ALBERT E. MCKINLEY, MANAGING EDITOR

Published with the Endorsement of the American Historical Association

Volume XVIII. Number 6.

PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER, 1927

\$2.00 a year. 30 cents a copy.

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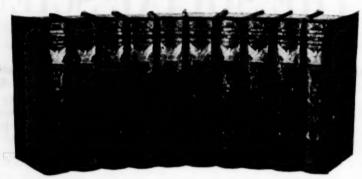
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The Historical Outlook

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Volume XVIII.

PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER, 1927

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Domestic Policies of the United States Since the World War

BY JAMES C. MALIN, Ph.D., ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

THE CONSERVATIVE REVOLUTION

To the citizen of today it is often a matter of concern to find his way through the maze of current issues. There is no coherent program presented to the country, nor are policies supported by logical and convincing statement of reasons. There is no leader or group of leaders who seems to be able to command a clear majority of public opinion. There are almost as many views on individual problems as there are politicians. It would seem that the citizen is not alone in his doubt concerning a proper line of policy. The position of the politician, however, is doubly uncertain. He must face his constituents who demand one or various lines of action, and at the same time he must face the facts of the situation which often demand another. Sometimes the same man is following policies which are diametrically opposed. The private citizen has the one advantage that he is not obliged to appear to think as his party does, that is, when either thinks at all. Unfortunately for democracy, political attitudes are for the most part based upon traditions, prejudices and emotions, rather than upon logical judgments derived from facts.

In order to clarify the situation somewhat it is always useful to classify the facts of current politics and then chart the course of action thus far. In this way it may be possible to establish more definitely the direction of change. While it is more or less trite to say that the present is a period of conservatism, that alone does not answer the question. Just what does conservatism mean in terms of specific measures? The trend of the immediate past can be brought out more sharply by a contrast with the trend of the more remote past. Pre-war liberalism, the dominant view before 1917, offers a point of departure.

While it is not customary for many Americans to think of political issues in terms of systematic theories of the scope and functions of government, it is almost a necessity to do so to achieve a coherent orientation in the multiplicity of facts, opinions, and prejudices. The conservative or laisses faire theory of government assumes that government shall govern as little as possible, leaving the individual free to work out his own destiny on the assumption that what is good for the individual is also good for society as a whole. The liberals or progressives hold that the above view is not necessarily true and that the public interest often requires the limitation of individual action. In a conflict of interest between the individual and society the latter should predominate.

Their dogma can be stated as popular control of government, and government control of economic and social problems in the interest of society. Both of these theories are based upon the concept of private property. Socialism differs both as to the ownership of property, and as to the position of the individual, vesting the control of both in the group.

During the years immediately preceding the World War, liberalism was the dominant theory in both domestic and foreign policy and also in both the

Democratic and Republican parties.

The antecedents of Democratic liberalism go back to the populist and similar agitation of the eighteen nineties, which in 1896 was fused with the old party under the leadership of Bryan. He retained control, with one break in 1904, till the campaign of 1912 when Wilson took over the leadership and gave it a new and more coherent expression during the succeeding years. Republican liberalism traces its ancestry to the earlier independents and mugwumps, who were so thoroughly hated by Roosevelt during the eighties and nineties. Of the later liberal Republican leaders, La Follette was the first to outline the program. His fight for the new order in politics made him governor of Wisconsin in 1900 and gave Wisconsin the reputation of being the best governed state in the union. In the national arena, La Follette's liberalism was too radical. The program of moderate liberalism was expressed by such men as Roosevelt, Taft, Root, and Hughes. By the end of the Taft administration most elements in that program had been realized in legislation. When Roosevelt returned from his African retirement he put himself in opposition to Taft. In order to differentiate his new position from the earlier Roosevelt-Taft program, and to contest with La Follette the leadership of the liberals, he found it necessary to endorse the La Follette type of radicalism, which was far in advance of his own.

The essentials of the liberal programs differ little among the three leaders, Wilson, Roosevelt, and La Follette. In public finance, tariff reduction was a cardinal point, together with inheritance, corporation, and income taxes. The tendency was to multiply the sources of revenue, and to shift the incidence of taxation from the common people to the holders of great wealth. Banking and currency were both placed under the control of a federal board. Transportation and communication systems also came in for a drastic regulation under federal boards; the interstate commerce commission, the shipping board, and

the federal trade commission. Agriculture received a belated recognition in the extension of land credits through the farm loan board. Even the size of apple barrels was prescribed by statute. Labor received a dubious grant of privileges in the Clayton act, recognizing strikes, boycott, picketing, limitation of use of injunctions, and exempting labor unions from the operation of the anti-trust laws. Labor disputes in transportation were adjusted through a federal board of mediation and conciliation.

Federal activity was not confined to economic regulation, but included a broad scope of social control. Conditions of labor, as viewed from the standpoint of public welfare, were of national concern. men's compensation, hours of labor, and dangerous trades were the subjects of numerous statutes. Two child labor laws were passed and declared unconstitutional. Vice legislation was enacted to preserve public morals. The public health service was reorganized during the Taft administration and its duties extended. Pure food laws aimed at elimination of adulteration and at regulation of standards of purity. Prohibition failed as a national issue though the Webb-Kenyon act passed over Wilson's veto. postal service was enlarged to perform greater social as well as economic functions in the postal savings and parcel post services. Educational aid, which had been extended previously to agriculture and mechanical arts, was broadened by the Smith-Hughes act in 1917 and administered by a new federal board of vocational education. Recreation and sport were not omitted as is shown by game preserves and the National Park Service. The Taft administration also completed the conservation and reclamation program.

Federal government regulation seemed to promise a solution of all difficulties. However, the federal government could not be depended upon so long as there was danger of the special interests resuming control. This phase of the problem was met, first, by a movement for the reorganization of machinery of administration in order to secure more efficient agencies for exercising regulative functions, and second, by the movement for the adoption of new machinery of government such as initiative, referendum, recall, primaries, and popular election of senators, in order to thoroughly democratize the government and make it more responsible to the people.

How different was the atmosphere of suspicion, demand, inquiry, and experiment of the dominant prewar liberalism in contrast to the smug respectability, the complacent normalcy, and the cool and calm contentment of the post-war régime? One effect of the war was to drive people to extremes; either to the right toward conservatism or to the left toward extreme radicalism. Conservatives became reactionary, liberals became conservative, and socialists returned to the capitalist system or turned to the left and extreme syndicalism or communism. The overwhelming drift was toward conservatism. Liberalism and moderate socialism found relatively few supporters. Men who shouted for Roosevelt, or Wilson, or La Follette in 1912, demanding the adoption of the

liberal program to save the nation from Wall Street plutocracy, insist with similar vehemence on the opposite policy in 1927. The most amazing fact in the situation from a logical point of view is that they are firmly convinced that they were absolutely right both times.

POLITICAL THEORY SINCE 1919

The general spirit of post-war conservatism may be traced quite clearly in the president's messages, supplemented by a few illustrations from other sources. Five distinct aspects have been selected to illustrate significant political tendencies. The first phase is exaggerated nationalism. It is the factor which was primarily responsible for the defeat of the League of Nations. Harding said in his special message to congress 12 April, 1921, that the participation of the United States in an association of nations must not require "the surrender of national sovereignty." "We recognize no superauthority." Borah held that the league meant the "sterilization of nationalism." These statements are the negative side of the problem. The positive side is to be found in the legislation designed to build up national security such as tariff, transportation, and merchant marine and will be indicated more fully in the following pages.

The second phase of the post-war conservatism is a reversion, or at least an attempted reversion to laissez faire. In Harding's special message to congress of 12 April, 1921, he repeated from campaign statements: "I have said to the people we meant to have less of government in business as well as more of business in government." Business "ought to have no call to meet government competition where all risk is borne by the treasury."

In Coolidge's third annual message of 8 December. 1925, he stated that "it is exceedingly gratifying to report that the general condition is one of progress and prosperity, and that "in the fundamentals of government and business the results demonstrate that we are going in the right direction. The country does not appear to require radical departures from the policies already adopted so much as it needs a further extension of these policies and the improvement of details. The age of perfection still is in the somewhat distant future, but it is more in danger of being retarded by mistaken government activity than it is from lack of legislation. We are by far the most likely to accomplish permanent good if we proceed with moderation." Again in the fourth annual message 7 December, 1926, he said, "What the country requires is not so much new policies as a steady continuation of those which are already being crowned with such abundant success.... I am in favor of reducing, rather than expanding, government bureaus which seek to regulate and control the business activities of the people."

The expressions of private citizens present rather less monotony of iteration, more humor, and a keener perception of significance of application. Edward W. Bok founded the One Thousand Dollar Harvard Award for the most distinguished single advertise-

ment "most effective in the use of text." The award was made in 1925 for an advertisement of The Nation's Business, the official organ of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, entitled, "Let Washington Do It.'

"An Iowa shoe dealer writes: 'There ought to be a law

to limit the styles of shoes.'

"As a people, we have come to expect the Federal Government to perform economic miracles. 'Pass a law' has become the national panacea.

"If we think the price of wheat is too low, we say to Washington, 'Please raise the price of wheat.' If we think the price of sugar is too high, we say to Washington, 'Please lower the price of sugar.'

"We ask Washington to lower the freight rates and in

the same breath request higher wages for railroad labor. We haven't yet thought of a glorious third law compelling the railroads at the same time to pay higher dividendsand to pay them oftener.

"Aren't we asking too much of our legislators? They

are not supermen.

"The cynic says that the trouble with representative government is that it truly represents. It does truly represent-and therein lies its great strength.

"But it can no more repeal economic law than it can

repeal the laws of nature.

"Washington is just a great cross-section of American citizenry-hard-working, honest, doing its best under a deluge of instruction from all of us, the burden of which 'There ought to be a law'

"Last year 100,000 new laws were proposed in this land of the free, where already there are 1,900,000 on the statute

"We have come to ask Congress to do everything from enacting a maternity bill to running a three-billion-dollar merchant marine.

We forget that our forefathers who created the greatest form of Government of all time did not design that

political mechanism to operate business enterprises,
"The checks and balances, designed to protect political liberty, by their very nature prevent efficient operation of business projects. As Herbert Hoover puts it, 'The Government lacks rapidity of decision.' Which is proper. It can't cut corners. There must be debate. Even red tape. Business must make quick decisions,

"Yet we go blithly ahead, asking Washington to enter new fields of business activity. We forget that every entry requires more laws, more office-holders, more expense, more

"More important, every law which puts Government into business strikes at that which made this Nation great—

individual reward for individual effort.

"Our national legislative mill will soon start grinding again. A large part of its grist, by far, will deal with business questions; your business and your neighbor's.

For this is an economic age—an age in which industry has become so interrelated that a law directed at one activity extends out and on, affecting a score of others in

unlooked-for industries and localities.

"An imperative need today is a better understanding of the growing relations between Government and business, and also a better appreciation of the dependence of every industry upon every other. Nation's Business is a magazine devoted to this end. It is published in Washington by the largest business organization in the country, and is founded on the belief that anything which is not for the public good is not for the good of business."

The editor of The Nation's Business also attacked the policy of government regulation in the editorial columns; e. g. "The Great Collar Button Campaign" (November, 1925).

"The movement against—or for, as one's politics run—the back collar button grows and spreads. An ardent anti, who signs himself President of the Society for the Suppression of the Back Collar Button, the Eradication of

Nervous Disease and the Encouragement of Thrift, urges us ahead, but mourns that we gave credit to a Missourian for having started the great movement, although he con-

cedes that the cause is greater than the man.
"The President of the S. S. B. C. B., etc., sets forth conclusively that the back collar button is a foe of thrift and the promoter of nervous disease. He recounts his struggles against the labor unions, who saw a blow at the worker in the elimination of the back buttonhole, and against the manufacturers both of collar buttons and shirts.

"Then he raises the great American cry of 'There ought

to be a law,' and says:

"'I am now busy preparing a law for every State and for Congress, forbidding the use of the back collar button. "The possibilities spread before our eyes. But why start First a Fact-Finding Commission or legislation. on with legislation. First a Fact-rinding Commission of two. What do we know of the uses of collar buttons in Cuba or Switzerland? We should appreciate a place on a commission to examine and report on the collar button habits of Cuba and the West Indies this winter and of Switzerland and Scotland next summer.

"Then, and not until then, we might consider legislation, say an act to prohibit the wearing of back collar buttons.

say, an act to prohibit the wearing of back collar buttons in interstate commerce would be followed by acts creating a bureau for the inspection of back collar buttons, with

inspectors, deputy inspectors, and sub-inspectors.

"More laws, more bureaus, perhaps not for collar buttons, but certainly for other things."

Another example of ridicule of the activities of the federal government is furnished by the story of a man in Kansas who wrote the Department of Agriculture at Washington for information on "How to put on a shirt, eat an apple, peel potatoes, adjust a dog collar, shovel coal, wash a dog, and pick a Although the department has 3,000 chicken." advisory pamphlets it was necessary to admit that they could not give assistance except on the last point, "How to pick a chicken."

A third phase of post-war conservatism is the justification of federal government assistance to business. The editor of the Review of Reviews (July, 1926), presents the frankest possible exposition of this aspect of political philosophy. "The world was moving rapidly in the direction of a better and happier mode of life for the vast majority, when foolish and criminal leaders precipitated the World War of 1914....Since governments were chiefly responsible for the war and its incalculable disasters, it becomes necessary for governments to aid the forces of business in restoring economic life to a normal routine, on higher social levels It was a wholly new conception-a very recent one, too-that there might be wealth enough to go around, and that the luxuries of the few might become conveniences of the many. To work for the success of this ideal is the new conservatism.'

While Coolidge may not have reasoned the matter out in just this form it is evident that, in language not quite so clear, he is expressing the same conception in his speeches and messages. To the New York State Chamber of Commerce 19 November, 1925, he said: "The American policy toward business has been to cherish the general structure of business while holding its avenues open to the widest competition so its opportunities and benefits might be given the broadest possible participation. Those who are so engaged, instead of regarding the government as their opponent and enemy ought to regard it as their vigilant supporter and friend." The genuine satisfaction which he felt regarding the success of the Harding-Coolidge policies is revealed in another passage from the same speech. "It is notorious that where government is bad, business is bad Our country is in a state of unexampled and apparently sound and well distributed prosperity." Again in the peroration on American ideals in his message to congress 7 December, 1926, he closes with a touch of religious-patriotic fervor. "We need ideals that can be followed in daily life, that can be translated into terms of the home. We cannot expect to be relieved from toil, but we do expect to divest it of degrading conditions. Work is honorable; it is entitled to an honorable recompense. We must strive mightily, but having striven there is a defect in our political and social system if we are not in general rewarded with success. To relieve the land of the burdens that come from the war, to release to the individual more of the fruits of his own industry, to increase his earning capacity and decrease his hours of labor, to enlarge the circle of his vision through good roads and better transportation, to place before him the opportunity for education both in science and in art, to leave him free to receive the inspiration of religion, all these are ideals which deliver him from the servitude of the body and exalt him to the service of the soul. Through this emancipation from the things that are material, we broaden our dominion over the things that are spiritual."

A fourth phase of the new conservatism is the development of the theory of self-government in business. Harding pointed out in his special message to congress 12 April, 1921, that the government "has a right to expect the co-operation of...legitimate business in stamping out the practices which add to unrest and inspire restrictive legislation," and Coolidge in his address to the New York State Chamber of Commerce expressed the "desirability of the largest possible independence between government and business" and voiced the opinion that "each ought to be sovereign in its own sphere."

A clear warning to business men was sounded by John W. O'Leary, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, in addresses to business men in various parts of the country. On 24 March, 1926, he said, "If the government is not to resort to regulation, business must keep its own house in order. We have protested against government interference in the past and we seek to avoid it in the future. There is no better way of accomplishing this purpose than by assuming without reserve the responsibility for self-regulation. Our failure to accept it will mean more drastic government regulation than we have ever had before or ever dreamed of having.

"The obligation rests upon business not only to understand its own problems, but the economic problems which face a great nation like ours. The business man cannot afford to choose his own way without regard to the general direction in which business is heading. More than ever before we have the responsibility for contributing collectively to the solution of the economic problems which involve national interests and if we observe it conscientiously, we may be assured that we shall have the co-operation of those charged with governmental affairs."

The movement which O'Leary was leading came to a definite head in the fourteenth annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in Washington 10 May, 1926, when the central theme of the meeting was the discussion of this problem of self-regulation of American business, in contrast to government control. The official statement regarding the meeting said:

"The business man knows what government interference with business means. And he does not like it,

"In certain lines of business government regulation has been the established thing. Public interest—it must be protected!

"Business men recognize the public interest in certain vital services where special privileges monopolies sometimes—are accorded by the legislatures.

"If the business man objects to government regulation, what can he do, individually and in chambers of commerce and trade associations, to improve business relationship and narrow down the field of official control?

"This is the ground that will be covered at this fourteenth annual meeting on self-regulation in business."

A fifth aspect of the new conservatism is a certain revival of states rights as opposed to nationalization and centralization. Probably the most conspicuous single line of agitation which has been associated with this movement is the wet campaign against national prohibition. Governor Ritchie, of Maryland, has been most conspicuous in his advocacy of states rights. He has centered on two main points, prohibition and child labor. Coolidge definitely voiced the policy of limiting the scope of activity of the federal government in favor of the states and other local units. The first statement was in his Memorial Day address in 1925 and was repeated in his annual message in December. "Society is in much more danger from encumbering the national government beyond its wisdom to comprehend, or its ability to administer, than from leaving the local communities to bear their own burdens and remedy their own evils." It must be noted that Coolidge's statements are in general terms and, therefore, leave the meaning of the whole matter

This survey portrays the nature of the new conservative laissez faire theory. While government shall not interfere in business, still business is always entitled to the constant assistance and solicitude of government. This predominance of business has centered the most conspicuous governmental activity in three departments: State, Treasury, and Commerce, with the support when convenient of the Army and the Navy. The only men of ability in the president's cabinet have been in these three departments.

The crime wave, anti-prohibition, and laissez faire in business are all manifestations from different

angles and interests of a similar spirit of restiveness under the controls of law. The primary difference, however, being that as the business man is in control he alone is in a position to secure the much to be desired individual liberty and personal freedom from the inconvenient restraints of government.

FEDERAL ECONOMIC POLICIES: PUBLIC FINANCE

The World War left a tragic heritage of ethical demoralization, economic deflation, debt, and taxes. In the midst of the peace treaty controversy Wilson began the formulation of a program for the reduction of the cost of living, economy in government, and orderly expenditure. He urged budget legislation which would vest in the executive the responsibility for the formulation of a comprehensive plan of appropriations. In congress no additions to the budget should be made except by a single committee on appropriations in each house. The law as passed was disapproved by Wilson and vetoed. Harding in his special session message, 12 April, 1921, also urged a similar program, and a budget act was passed and approved 10 June, 1921.

The high cost of government became one of the chief questions of public interest. The cost of all branches of government—federal, state, and local—has been estimated at \$2,919,000,000 in 1913 and \$11,125,000,000 in 1925. This does not allow for the depreciation in the value of the dollar from 100 to 64 for the period. With this adjustment the ratio for the two dates is 3 to 7. The per capita cost increased from \$30 to \$96. The national income has been estimated for 1924 at approximately double that of 1913, while taxation increased from 6.9 per cent. to 12.5 per cent. of the total national income. Other estimates are even higher.

Federal expenditures in 1921 were 60 per cent. of the total, but by 1925 were reduced to about 33 per cent. Exclusive of debt, interest charges, and military establishment, the actual cost of federal government has been reduced but slightly since the immediate post-war adjustments were made.

State government expenditures increased rapidly; in 1915 the total was \$494,907,000, in 1923 the total was \$1,310,333,000, and in 1925 it was \$1,614,562,000. The per capita debt of the states was \$4.31 in 1915 and \$11.12 in 1925. A great portion of this was spent in road building.

Local government shows even greater increases in cost. In 1913 it stood at \$1,844,000,000, in 1923 at \$5,136,000,000, and in 1925 at \$6,184,405,000. (Figures taken primarily from H. E. Morgan, The Growing Burden of Government Costs in America, Current History (January, 1927), 25: 504-508.)

A survey of the distribution of federal expenditures is an illuminating but usually neglected phase of public finance. In 1913 war (present defense and past wars) consumed 73 per cent. of federal money, leaving less than 27 per cent. for all civil functions. Dr. Rosa's figures for average annual expenditures over the ten-year period 1910-1919 (exclusive of war cost) and for the years 1920, 1922, 1923, and 1924 are as shown in the table in next column.

	Pet. 1910-19			Pct. 1923	Pct. 1924
Primary Government Func- tions (Legis., Exec., and					
Jud.)	15.98	3.0	6.6	7.0	6.0
Research, Education, and De-					
velopment		1.0	1.9	1.9	2.0
Public Works (this includes the					
Panama Canal)	11.75	3.0	4.0	5.6	6.0
Total Civil Expenditure	31.94	7.0	12.5	14.5	14.0
Army and Navy			17.1	16.9	20,2
Pension and Care of Soldiers.			18.0	24.6	26.0
Special Activities Pertaining					
to Recent War				4.9	.4
Interest	3.63		25.6	28.3	26.7
Retirement of Public Debt			26.9	10.8	12.7
Total National Defense					
and Past Wars	68.06	93.0	87.5	85.5	86.0

According to Coolidge's budget message of 8 December, 1926, the estimates for 1928 show little variation. When it is understood that only about 15 per cent. of the total expenditures is devoted to civil affairs it can be realized how little the program of post-war economy in the conduct of government can effect the rate of taxation. This is further emphasized by the fact that since 1922 the total number of government employees as indicated by Commissioner Morgan has increased slightly rather than decreased. The war charges are relatively fixed charges, except for reductions in debt and interest, which the militarist element would increase in the competition for armament. According to treasury statements the public debt of over 26 billion in 1919 has been reduced to 18 billion in 1927. Except for increasing national income, debt reduction is the only source from which substantial tax reductions have come since the immediate post-war adjustment. Coolidge has resisted the demands of the extreme militarists, the increases in national defense which he has approved have absorbed and will continue to absorb a considerable of the savings on interest charges.

The changing sources of federal income are also a matter of special interest. In 1909, before the new tariff went into effect. 47.7 per cent. of revenue came from customs and 40 per cent, from internal revenue. By 1913 and before the revenue act of that year customs had fallen to 44 per cent. and internal revenue, which included the new corporation tax of 1909, increased to 47.5 per cent. The disturbance to commerce resulting from the world war, together with the revenue act of 1913, further reduced customs by 1916 to 27 per cent. and increased internal revenues, including the income tax, to 65.8 per cent. For 1923 customs yielded only 14 per cent., while internal revenue produced 65.5 per cent. The returns from the income and profits tax alone returned over 41 per cent. The budget estimates for 1927 place the customs receipts at 16 per cent. of the total. These figures show the revolution which has taken place in public finance since the beginning made by Taft's insistence upon the corporation tax in 1909. From the standpoint of public revenue the tariff is a relatively unimportant political question. Its chief significance in post-war finance lies in its protective

features for the promotion of a national industrial system and for purposes of international economic warfare. The tariff act of 1922 established the highest duties in the history of the United States, many of them were purposely made prohibitive. It also provided that the president might raise or lower the tariff by 50 per cent. if the facts warranted such action in maintaining adequate protection. Coolidge urged increases, while the majority of the tariff commission recommended certain decreases. The president reconstructed the commission in 1925 by appointing Culbertson minister to Rumania and filling the vacancy with a man of his own views. In commenting upon prosperity in his annual message of 7 December, 1926, Coolidge said: "It is my opinion that this whole development has been predicated on the foundation of a protective tariff."

Wilson dealt with the question of internal revenue in his message of 2 December, 1919, asking Congress to consider the readjustment of the income and profits taxes to a peace basis, which would not create stagnation and discourage production. Although tariff was increased Congress made a series of reductions in the income tax schedules. Under the war revenue act of 1918 the income tax exemptions were \$1,000 and \$2,000 for single and married men. The normal tax rate was 4 per cent. on the first \$6,000 of taxable income with a maximum of 8 per cent. thereafter. The surtax began at 1 per cent. on incomes of \$5,000 to \$6,000, with a maximum of 65 per cent. on incomes over one million. The inheritance tax exemption was \$50,000. The rate of taxation was 1 per cent. on the first \$50,000 of taxable inheritance, with a maximum of 25 per cent. on all over \$10,000,000. The corporation tax was 10 per cent. In the revenue act of 26 February, 1926, the income tax exemptions were \$1,500 and \$3,500 for single and married men. The normal tax rate was 11/2 per cent. on the first \$4,000 of taxable income, 3 per cent. on the second \$4,000, and 5 per cent. on all above that point. The surtax began at 1 per cent, on incomes of \$10,000 to \$14,000, with a maximum of 20 per cent. on incomes over \$500,000. The inheritance tax exemption was raised to \$100,000. The rate of taxation was 1 per cent. on the first \$50,000 of taxable inheritance, with a maximum of 20 per cent. on all over \$10,000,000. The corporation tax was 13 per cent. for 1926 and 131/2 per cent, for 1927.

The adjustment of the foreign debts presented another difficult problem. The World War Foreign Debts Commission was created by an act of 9 February, 1922. Settlements were reached by 1927 with thirteen countries for \$11,500,000,000. Only three countries did not make adjustments: Russia, Greece, and Austria. Two agreements made were not ratified, France and Jugo-Slavia, when the commission expired by limitation 9 February, 1927. The major settlements were adjusted to spread over a period of 62 years. It is estimated that the settlements cancelled 23 per cent. of the British debt, 46 per cent. of the Belgian, 52 per cent. of the French, and 75 per cent. of the Italian.

BANKING AND CURRENCY

The period of the world war revolutionized many

features of the banking business. The Federal Reserve law of 1913 was purposely designed to fix strict limitations on banking in the interest of stability, but under the new conditions many bankers came to feel that the old law should be modified. The trust business and the investment end of banking became more profitable than the regular business, in the opinion of some bankers, and national banks were restricted in these fields. Branch banking had gained rapidly, bringing about a serious competition between the small local bank and the branches of the large banks. In this rivalry the branch banks claim greater stability on account of greater resources. All of these newer features of the business placed a greater emphasis upon large resources, which can be secured only through mergers of smaller institutions. The reports of the Federal Reserve Board on failures also emphasized the greater stability of the larger institutions. In the two years 1924 and 1925 there were a total of 1,389 bank failures, with deposits of \$386,-444,000. Over half the failures were in the more sparsely populated states of the middle west, with a large number of small banks: Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota, and Oklahoma. Eighty per cent. were in the above states, together with Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, Wyoming, and New Mexico in the middle west, and North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Texas in the south. The average bank in the United States has a capital of \$100,000 and deposits of \$1,500,000. The failed banks had an average capital of \$40,000 and deposits of \$280,000. Ninetysix per cent, of the failures were in towns of less than 25,000 population.

The tendency toward mergers has developed throughout the country both among the small banks and among the largest banks. The merger of the Chase National and the Mechanics and Metals National announced 11 February, 1926, is an example of the large bank merger. The new institution became the second largest bank in the United States. The National City Bank is credited with resources of \$1,215,000,000, while the enlarged Chase National is credited with \$1,025,000,000.

During the year 1925 banking was immensely profitable. The price of stock in New York banks and trust companies was reported to have increased 100 per cent. These profits were largely attributed to development of the investment end of the business. Rivalry between state banks and trust companies with national banks has been the result of the new factors in the banking business, as the state systems have privileges denied to national banks. A number of institutions surrendered national for state charters. The movement grew until it became alarming. Bankers were allured by large profits, broader scope of business, and less stringent regulations. The national banks are the basis of the national banking and currency system. The continued withdrawal threatened the whole structure. The Federal Reserve Bank charters were due to expire in 1934 and the uncertainty of recharter was also offered as a reason for the change to state charters. The McFaddin banking bill was passed in February, 1927, after a threeyear campaign, as a remedy for the situation. The bill extends the charter of the Federal Reserve system indefinitely. Branches are to be permitted under restrictions where they are not prohibited by state law. Twenty-three states permit and twenty-five states prohibit branch banking. National banks are permitted to engage more freely in trust business and can deal in investment securities. Loan and discount regulations are also relaxed and consolidations can be more easily arranged.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

One of the outstanding reactions of the World War on the United States was the stimulation of a more exaggerated sense of nationalism. Not only was this spirit shown in the League of Nations and the World Court controversies, and in the excessive tariff measure of 1922, but in practically every other phase of government policy. War-time government control over railroads, ocean and coastwise shipping, inland waterways, express, telegraph, cable, and wireless demonstrated the value of unified control and coordination of transportation and communication systems, not only for military, but for economic and public purposes in time of war. The lesson was impressed indelibly upon the country. The pervading spirit of national and military self-sufficiency dictated the continuation and development of this phase of policy, embracing all mediums, land, water, and air. In the pre-war period the government had approached these problems from the standpoint of restriction. The resulting policy was negative and was critical of the prevailing economic tendencies. In the postwar period the approach was from the standpoint of constructive assistance and the resulting policy recognized and accepted as an obligation the promotion of such a national transportation and communication system.

On 1 March, 1920, the government returned the railroads to private operation under the terms of the Transportation Act of 1920. Government assistance was extended to meet the adjustment of immediate financial difficulties. In rate making policy the act inaugurated new principles in the relations between the government and the railroads. The interstate commerce commission was expressly enjoined to make rates with a view to allowing the roads, either as a whole or as groups, under good management, a fair return of 51/2 per cent., plus 1/2 per cent., at its discretion, for improvements. After 28 February, 1922, the commission was to fix what it considered a fair return. Under previous legislation the railroads were protected in rate fixing only by the constitutional limitations under the fifth amendment against confiscation. Upon the commission was now placed the responsibility, not only to provide rates adequate to assure a fair return on the investment, but to provide the nation with an adequate transportation system. To accomplish this end it was necessary to empower the commission to fix intra-state rates, to pass upon new construction, abandonment of roads, and even to require the building of new lines. New issues of securities were subject to consent, as was regulation of service and traffic. Pooling was authorized under the supervision of the commission, as was also the

control of one road by another through lease or purchase of stock or otherwise. The climax of the whole scheme was a mandate to work out a plan of consolidation of all railroads in the United States into a limited number of groups.

The labor provisions of the act also present matters of unusual interest. The law recognized three methods of settling difficulties; first, direct negotiation between railroads and employees; second, the authorization of railroad boards of adjustment, formed voluntarily by the railroads and the employees, with jurisdiction over disputes not involving wages; third, the Railroad Labor Board was created by the statute with jurisdiction over wages, in event of failure of direct negotiations, and with jurisdiction over other disputes if the boards of adjustment were not organized or if they failed to reach a settlement. This board, however, was not given power to enforce decisions.

During the last days of government operation the railroads were running at a loss, but the administration decided to supply the deficit out of public funds for the time being rather than make rate increases. The appropriation to cover the deficit was continued for six months under private operation and in the meantime the interstate commerce commission was working out rate and wage adjustments. The rate decisions were dated 29 July, 1920, effective 26 August, based on a temporary valuation of \$18,900,-000,000, to yield 51/2 per cent., plus 1/2 per cent. for improvements, and authorized freight rate increases from 25 to 40 per cent., passenger fare increases of 20 per cent. and sleeping car increases of 50 per cent. to accrue to the railroad. These increases, in spite of the opposition of the states, were applied to intrastate commerce as well as to inter-state commerce, and were upheld by the supreme court in the Wisconsin Passenger Fare case 27 February, 1922. These increases in rates also took into consideration the fact of labor adjustments. The Railroad Labor Board decision of 20 July, 1920, authorized wage increases of approximately 22 per cent., retroactive to 1 May. This added a burden to railroad operation of approximately \$600,000,000.

Post-war deflation began definitely in May, 1920, as indicated by the fall in wholesale prices. Its effect on the railroads was not especially apparent until November and touched bottom in February, 1921. This deflation deprived the railroads of the adequate income anticipated by the interstate commerce commission in authorizing the rate increases. It also tended to lower general operation costs and living expenses and led to the reopening of the controversies over wages and rates. Two other problems complicated the situation during 1921; the creation of the railroad boards of adjustment and the adoption of agreements respecting rules governing working conditions. On both these questions the basic differences were similar. The employees wanted national adjustment boards and national agreements. The railway executives wanted local boards and local agreements. The failure to arrive at an understanding between themselves threw the whole burden of decision on the

Railroad Labor Board.

The controversy over agreements dates from the war period, when agreements had been made with certain groups. The labor board postponed decision until the more pressing questions of wages and rates were disposed of. A decision was reached and new rules promulgated between August and November, 1921. The wage controversy led to a decision 1 July, 1921, fixing decreases averaging about 12 per cent. This left wage levels about 7 per cent. above that of March, 1920. The railway executives asked 14 October for further reductions to the level of March, 1920, and then the four brotherhoods threatened a strike. The whole matter was postponed through an announcement that no further wage reductions would be considered until the rate question was settled.

Rate reduction began in August, 1921, on livestock, and was extended to grain in October, and to other farm products in January, 1922. On 16 May the commission ordered a 10 per cent. horizontal reduction for all rates, to be effective 1 July. This was based upon the new standard of fair return fixed by the commission at 53/4 per cent.

Wage reductions were then adjusted in conjunction with the new rates. During May and June decisions were announced providing wage reductions to be effective 1 July. The new scale was practically the level of March, 1920, except for the brotherhoods. The shopmen called a strike in protest against the wage reductions and the board rules governing working conditions. The strike was lost on all points.

The effect of the strike on the Railroad Labor Board, together with the quarreling between factions on the board, was decisive in discrediting it with labor and to a great extent with the public. Harding, in his annual message of 8 December, 1922, recommended "the substitution of a labor division in the interstate commerce commission...." favored the continuance of a government agency. Coolidge, however, gradually responded to the newer spirit of conservative political philosophy. In his annual message of 8 December, 1925, he reported: "I am informed that the railroad managers and their employees have reached a substantial agreement as to what legislation is necessary to regulate and improve their relationship. Whenever they bring forward such proposals, which seem sufficient also to protect the interests of the public, they should be enacted into law.

"It is gratifying to report that both the railroad managers and railroad employees are providing boards for the mutual adjustment of differences in harmony with the principles of conference, conciliation, and arbitration. The solution of their problems ought to be an example to all other industries. Those who ask the protections of civilization should be ready to use the methods of civilization." The principle of self-constituted adjustment boards had been included in the Transportation Act of 1920 to a limited degree, but with the government board in the major position. The new scheme approved by the president's message would practically turn all disputes over to this self-constituted machinery.

The measure referred to was presented to Congress as the Watson-Parker bill. It passed the House 1

March, 1926, by a vote of 381 to 13, and the Senate 11 May, by a vote of 69 to 13. The unusual procedure by which the bill passed excited a marked degree of comment. "Instead of Congress devising a law to keep the peace between the railroads and their workers, we are witnessing the strange phenomenon of railroad managers and labor leaders putting their heads together to draw up a plan for settling wage disputes complete in every detail and asking Congress simply to sign on the dotted linewhich Congress does, with exactly thirteen dissenting votes in each house." The act abolished the Railroad Labor Board. It provided for (1) the creation of Boards of Adjustment "between any carrier or group of carriers, or the carriers as a whole, and its or their employees," (2) a permanent board of mediation of five members appointed by the president, (3) a board of arbitration consisting of three members, one chosen by each of the parties and the third selected by the other two. If each of the above devices fails in turn and the dispute threatens to "interrupt interstate commerce to a degree such as to deprive any section of the country of essential transportation service, then the president may appoint an emergency board to investigate and make a report. During the investigation and for thirty days after the report neither party shall make any change in conditions out of which the dispute arose, except by agreement. The whole machinery is voluntary and is kept in the hands of the interested parties, except for the appointment of the boards of mediation and investigation. It must be kept clearly in mind that there is no government machinery involved, which is vested with authority to hand down decisions. It is an example of economic self-government sanctioned by the political govern-

In accordance with the Transportation Act of 1920 the interstate commerce commission attacked the problem of formulating a plan of consolidations. Professor Ripley of Harvard assisted in the scheme for 19 systems; which was announced in 1921 as a basis of public discussion. Little headway was made, but many possible combinations were offered. Two examples excite a particular historical interest. The combination of the Southern Pacific and the Central Pacific was attacked by the government in 1911 under the pre-war anti-trust acts. The case came to the Supreme Court and was decided in 1922 and orders were issued to dissolve the combination. However, the interstate commerce commission consolidation scheme announced the preceding year included this very combination as a part of their plan. In view of this the commission 6 February, 1923, declared the combination valid and the circuit court of appeals upheld their action. The second case is the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern, which jointly own the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy. These roads were combined by means of the National Securities Company, which was dissolved by the Supreme Court in 1904. It was largely on this case that Roosevelt achieved fame in his trust program. In 1921 joint refunding operations of these roads were approved by the interstate commerce commission and at present 1927 preparations are being made to secure the approval of the commission to outright consolidation. The press comment on this proposal is quite favorable. These concrete examples are an illuminating commentary on this phase of conservative policy.

The results of the constructive policy has been most favorable to the railroads. The earnings of the first-class roads in 1921 were 3.3 per cent. This was during the period of greatest depression. In 1922, in spite of the shopmen's strike, earnings were 4.1 per cent. In 1923 they rose to 5.1 per cent. Some of the stronger roads have declared as high as 12 per cent. dividends. Under the recapture clause half of the earnings above 5¾ per cent. are turned over to the government. This creates a fund from which loans are made to the weaker roads; again an example of a policy designed to build up a national transportation system. (Eliot Jones, Principles of Railway Transportation, has been used for part of the details of the above section.)

In accordance with war policy of consolidation the leading express companies were combined in May, 1918, and in November were taken over by the government. When they were returned to private operation in 1920 they were transferred as a single organization, The American Express Company. Pipe lines have come to occupy a tremendously important place in the transportation of oil. By 1925 there were 65,000 miles of pipe line, representing an investment of \$518,500,000. In parcels post policy there was little change, except a reduction of rates. Highway policy presents more that is new. The building of roads, with the assistance of the federal government, began with an act of 11 July, 1916, which authorized a five-year program. Harding urged further legislation in his special message and the Federal Highway Act of 9 November, 1921, continued the fifty-fifty plan of financing, but with more definite federal supervision. The constitutional authority for this policy was based upon the postal clause, but peculiarly the administration was placed. in the hands of the department of agriculture. While the federal government participated in the building of the roads, the national conference of motor bus operators in May, 1925, passed resolutions asking for the restriction of the power of the interstate commerce commission over motor transportation on the ground that bus lines were primarily local and intra-state, not interstate. The rapid growth of this relatively new business presents many new problems. During 1926 the interstate commerce commission conducted a special survey of the problem with a view to the formulation of a more definite policy.

"Linked with rail and highway is the problem of water transportation—inland, coastwise, and transoceanic," quoting from Harding's special message of 12 April, 1921. In his second annual message he pointed out that the railroads should connect with inland waterways and with ocean carriers to form an integral system. The interest has centered upon two great projects—the Mississippi River system and the Great Lakes-Atlantic waterway. Coolidge's third annual message stated (1925) that "A modern channel connecting Chicago, New Orleans, Kansas City, and

Pittsburgh should be laid out and work on the tributaries prosecuted. Some work is being done of a preparatory nature along the Missouri, and large expenditures are being made in the lower reaches of the Mississippi and its tributaries which contribute both to flood control and navigation." "Work on the Ohio River will be completed in about three years." Again, 22 November, 1926, Hoover, speaking for the administration, urged that the Mississippi waterway improvement should be taken up as a whole. It could be completed in five years at a cost of \$150,000,000. The bill authorizing this project was signed by Coolidge 21 January, 1927. As enacted it bears all the earmarks of pork-barrel methods, especially to conciliate the upper Missouri Valley farm bloc. The major appropriations to carry out the improvement remain yet to be passed. On 12 February the secretary of war announced that the Inland Waterways Corporation, operating federal barges on the Mississippi river, has made agreements with 165 railroads affecting cheaper transportation of freight of fortyone states. It was announced in May, 1927, that the barge line had made a profit in 1926 for the first time since the organization in 1920. The report also stated that while private capital could operate barges with a profit in the lower river, the conditions did not yet permit profitable operation on the upper Mississippi and government support would be necessary to continue demonstration and experimentation. Savings in freight enjoyed by the public were estimated at twenty million dollars per year. The interstate commerce commission 30 July, 1927, ordered railroads to make joint rates with the barge lines on the upper Mississippi allowing a 15 per cent. differential under the rail rates. This extends the principle previously applied to the lower river and sets a precedent for the Missouri river when improvements are completed. In this manner the administration is attempting to make the waterways an integral part of the national transportation system as outlined by Harding. Nationalism and the principle of assistance to business here outweigh the principle of "less government in business."

The Great Lakes-Atlantic waterway-power project has been agitated continuously since the war and even before. The middle west favors the St. Lawrence outlet through Canada. New York insists upon an all-American route (sic) which among other things directs all traffic through the port of New York. There are two possible New York routes: the Eric Canal to Albany from Lake Eric and a projected canal from Oswego on Lake Ontario to Albany. Through an agreement announced 22 April, 1925, between the United States and Canada a study of the international aspect of the project was authorized. The Hoover commission reported to Congress in January, 1927, in favor of the St. Lawrence outlet.

Coastwise shipping is closely linked with inland waterways, as well as with ocean carriers. The ocean carrier belongs more properly to the problem of foreign economic policy than to domestic. To a certain extent the same is true of coastwise shipping; especially as the same ships may operate in either or both

fields, and as American coastwise shipping policy tends to extend the coastwise system to the non-contiguous possessions. Foreign ships are excluded from the trade so the extension of the coasting system raises international questions. The Jones act of 1920 authorized the inclusion of the Philippines in the coasting system, but the President has not seen fit to act.

The postoffice department did important pioneering in civil aviation by establishing the air mail service under government operation. In April, 1926, it was announced that air mail service would be carried by private lines under contract. It was stated that the purpose of this new departure was to take the government out of business and to open the way for the development of express and passenger service. The Chicago-Dallas line for example was turned over to the National Air Transport, Inc. (N. A. T.), among the first, and the New York-Chicago line 1 July, 1927, completed the process. These mail contracts are in the nature of a government subsidy to the private lines for commercial purposes. On 8 November, 1926, the American Express Company announced a contract with the N. A. T. to carry express over the above lines and a daily passenger schedule was announced 6 August, 1927, service to begin between Chicago, Kansas City, and Dallas on 1 September. The fare was fixed at 10 cents per mile.

The first steps toward the formulation of a federal policy for civil aviation were taken by Wilson in submitting to Congress 26 February, 1919, the recommendation of the National Advisory Commission for Aeronautics for legislation placing the licensing and regulation of aviation under the department of commerce. The necessary legislation was passed in 1926 creating a division of civil aeronautics in the department of commerce with an assistant secretary of commerce in charge. The work of this and other divisions of government will be to mark and light routes, to assist in providing emergency landing fields, to map air routes, to provide weather information, etc.

With the problem of transportation is linked the problem of communications: land, water, and air. The postal air service is the most significant departure of the postoffice. Telegraph, telephone, and cable service is left under the jurisdiction of the interstate commerce commission as provided in 1910. Radio presents a multitude of new problems. Prior to the war radio had been limited to code transmission, but after the war broadcasting was developed to the point of practical use. This step revolutionized the whole industry. By 1925 there were 922 stations in the world, of which the United States had 566. It was estimated that in 1926 there were 5,200,000 receiving sets in the United States.

Private high-power radio communication within the United States and between the United States and the rest of the world is practically in the hands of a single monopoly, the Radio Corporation, which represents a combination of the leading electrical interests, General Electric, American Telephone and Telegraph, Westinghouse, and Western Electric, together with the United Fruit Company in the Caribbean. Latin-

American radio service is controlled by a combination of the American Radio Corporation with the leading British, French, and German companies, with the American company in the dominant position.

The average radio fan is interested only in the stations which broadcast entertainment programs, speeches, market reports, etc., and in consequence the important principles at stake in the formulation of radio policy have been obscured, if not ignored. What right has the holder of a copyright of sheet music over its production? Can he collect royalties or even prohibit its use? It was charged that a practical monopoly exists in the popular sheet music field and that a lobby was trying to secure copyright control in the proposed legislation in order to be able to prohibit any station but its own providing such entertainment. Shall radio advertising be so labeled as newspaper advertising is? Shall the law of slander be specifically extended to cover the possibilities of the radio? Shall manufacturers of apparatus be permitted to control the conditions and use and thus establish a radio monopoly? Do radio stations have a prescriptive right to wave lengths either for use or for sale? On what grounds shall a license to operate a sending station be refused or revoked? The fact that radio is a limited natural monopoly on account of the small number of available wave lengths, 89 according to Hoover, is the basis of some other difficult questions. Can the Anglo-Saxon tradition of free speech be maintained under the conditions governing the use of radio?

Radio figured in a national political campaign for the first time in the presidential election of 1924. It was commonly stated after the election that the radio elected Coolidge. Whether such a statement is altogether true or not is a matter of lesser importance. What is important is that it calls attention to the tremendous political significance of the radio. The story is told in press reports that Senator Watson, of Indiana, had a contract with a radio station to broadcast a series of political speeches in 1926. He was asked to submit his speeches in advance for censorship. He refused and cancelled the contract. Watson was chairman of the Senate committee which reported the drastic Dill bill. He is also a possible candidate against Coolidge for the Republican presidential nomination for 1928. In the campaign of 1926 the national convention of the socialist party considered, 3 May, the question of how to get on the air in the campaign. They had no broadcasting station and Hoover was refusing to license new stations. They raised a very pertinent question as to whether a political censorship can be exercised through government radio regulation. How are stations to be classified or is a distinction to be made? As it is impossible for everyone to establish a station because of cost and the limitation of wave length, must radio be declared a public utility and be opened to the use of everyone on equal terms as in the case of the telephone and the telegraph? Or can there be a classification according to use: some private stations and some open to the public at fixed rates. Then arises the question of what constitutes reasonable conditions and rates for use and what authority shall exercise such regulation? Shall government stations be open to private use? What war powers of censorship and regulation shall be provided? The United States is already a party to international agreements affecting radio. How far will the United States go in post-war international agreements on radio control?

The beginnings of radio policy of the United States date back as far as the Mann-Elkins act of 1910 which vested the regulation of rates of communications, either by wire, cable, or wireless, in the interstate commerce commission. In 1912 the license system was adopted and the granting of licenses was placed under the jurisdiction of the department of commerce. These provisions were designed for the old type of wireless, not for broadcasting. By 1921 the radio question presented itself for solution. Harding's special message of 12 April, 1921, called for new radio legislation. As Hoover, secretary of commerce, exercised such control as was authorized under the law of 1912 he called annual conferences of radio interests beginning in 1922. In the conference beginning 9 November, 1925, the leading features of a policy were outlined. By 1926 the campaign for legislation came to a crisis. The White bill in the house vested administration in the secretary of commerce with a commission to assign wave lengths and make regulations. This represented essentially Hoover's program outlined to the radio conference the preceding November, and became the administration bill. The Dill and Borah bills in the Senate provided for independent commissions to exercise all powers. While these bills were pending the Zenith decision in a federal court held that the secretary of commerce did not have power to prevent the use of wave lengths other than the one assigned. This opened the way for the pirating of wave lengths and consequent confusion in the broadcasting field. It brought home to the radio fan the realization of the need of new legislation. It must be clearly understood that the court decision did not create the problem of radio regulation. It was merely an incident in the campaign of several years for the drafting of a new policy.

The delay in passing an adequate law was due to several factors. Probably of greatest importance was the fact that the device was new and there was and still is little real comprehension of its political, economic and social significance, and of the possible problems which may arise from its rapid and unprecedented development. A quite practical difficulty, according to political observers, was the fact of censorship by owners of broadcasting stations, and the possible political advantage to the administration of any legislation without well considered safeguards. Borah particularly asked for longer time for consideration, but without success. The year 1926 was a congressional election year and the presidential election of 1928 was throwing its shadow ahead because of the possibility of the Coolidge or Hoover candidacies. During the short session of 1926-27 the

big problem was to effect a compromise between the White and Dill bills. The conference committee report was submitted and finally passed and signed by the president 23 February, 1927. It provides for a commission of five to exercise control over radio for one year and thereafter the administration is left to the secretary of commerce. Special problems may be referred to the commission for decision, or appeals may be made from the rulings of the secretary to the commission. Power is granted to classify stations, make regulations, issue licenses and assign wave lengths. Licenses can be revoked only by the com-mission. The anti-trust laws apply to both service and apparatus. Political use of broadcasting stations which are granted to one candidate must be allowed to the other candidates for the same office and no censorship by the owner of the station can be exercised. No station, however, is obliged to broadcast political speeches. The licensing authority has no power of censorship. Advertising must be broadcasted as such, whether commercial or propaganda material. The interstate commerce commission was left with powers over rates as assigned in the act of 1910. It is evident that the act dealt primarily with the immediate questions of licenses and wave lengths, avoiding many, although not all of the fundamental questions. The very important question of political use was scarcely touched in the field of privately owned stations. Government stations were left to the unrestricted use of officials subject only to the discretion of the administration, in using this means of publicity.

(Continued in the November number.)

"Communism in India," by Stanley Rice, is published the Nineteenth Century for July. "It would appear," in the Nineteenth Century for July. "It would appear," says Mr. Rice, "that Communism in its wider aspects has very little chance of obtaining a foothold in India....India is perhaps of all countries in the world least likely to adopt the revolutionary creed of the Communists. But this ultimate result will not deter the enthusiasts of Moscow from attempts, all the more if they are imperfectly instructed in Indian psychology. The Indian himself is a great en-thusiast; theories make a special appeal to him, and he does not, particularly in the ardor of youth, always discriminate between true and false arguments, nor see clearly and definitely where the theory is leading him. The abolition of poverty, the obliteration of caste distinctions, the promise of an earthly paradise, the destruction of imperialistic capitalism, and all the other catchwords that have so specious a sounding-all these and more are held out to him as the theoretical goal which justify violence and revo-lution, martyrdom and suffering....Let the Indian know what Communism means, what it has meant to Russia, to China, even to England. Let it be explained what is implied in the words, Imperialism, Capitalism, and Self-determination, which are now so many parrot expressions, unintelligible to the vast majority, and yet sufficient to arouse their enthusiasm or inflame their passion. Let the Communist who is seeking to subvert the social order be checked in his career. Let the government of India show that it will not tolerate the vapourings of irresponsible orators and writers. The safety of the State and all that it implies to the people is surely worth more than the tender sentiment of freedom of speech; if rumor does not lie that country has been most successful in dealing with Communism which boasts itself the freest in the world."

Canada's Diamond Jubilee of Confederation

BY PROFESSOR CARL WITTKE, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

On July 1, the Dominion of Canada began the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation by His Majesty King George V touching a signal in London which set the new carillon in the Parliament tower at Ottawa ringing, while radio stations broadcast the glad tidings of the nation's sixtieth birthday to the most distant parts of the Dominion. Distinguished visitors from the mother country and many foreign lands, and including the British Premier and the ever-popular Prince of Wales, participated in the happy occasion.

In this year of jubilee Canadians can look back upon a long history of progress and honorable achievement, of which they may well be proud, and forward, with the high promise of continued prosperity and a sound development of their national destiny. The depression following the World War seems to be safely passed, and prosperity smiles so bounteously upon the Dominion that the people have won a new faith in the prophecy of one of their greatest statesmen and firmly believe that "The twentieth

century belongs to Canada."

Yet the Dominion of Canada was born in 1867 "in a period of mid-Victorian gloom." The British government was quite apathetic to the proposals for federation which came from the leaders of the Canadian provinces. Gladstone and John Bright were seriously considering a proposal to transfer the dependency to the United States, in the hope that this would end, once for all, the many controversies which threatened the peaceful relations of the American Republic and Great Britain in the years immediately following the Civil War. Other British Liberals were convinced that the ultimate destiny of Canada was independence, and believed that no obstacle should be placed in the way of her achieving that destiny as soon as possible. The British North American Act, which is the fundamental law of the present government of Canada, was passed by the British Parliament without a division at any stage of its consideration, and with as little interest as if it "were a private bill uniting two or three English parishes.'

In Canada, likewise, there was widespread apathy and positive opposition to confederation in many quarters. In New Brunswick, the provincial government, which had sent delegates to the Quebec Convention of 1864 to work out the details of a plan of federation, was swept from office by an irate electorate, who feared new burdens of taxation and the loss of their identity in a larger political unit. In Nova Scotia, Joseph Howe, the province's most brilliant and popular leader, denounced confederation as the "Botheration Scheme," with all the vehement eloquence with which he had once advocated a closer maritime union. In the first election after confederation was proposed, Howe carried his province with him in his opposition to the plan, and set out for London to secure the repeal of the Parliamentary enact-

ment by which federation had been accomplished. Although, as a distinguished, present-day Canadian historian has pointed out, the idea of confederation might have occurred "to any politician with a map before him and the example of the United States in his mind," federation was not the result of the demand of a majority of the Canadian people. It was the work of a small minority of leaders, like Tilley and Tupper from the maritime provinces, and Brown, MacDonald, Galt, Cartier, McGee, and McDougall

of the provinces of United Canada.

John A. Macdonald, that canny Scotchman, who was easily Canada's greatest opportunist and political manipulator, dominated the convention at Quebec, and by his unusual quality of managing men guided the confederation scheme through the critical battle over ratification. Georges E. Cartier, the leader of French Canada, who began his public career by shouldering a musket against British authority in the abortive rebellion of 1837, undertook the difficult task of converting his fellow-racials in Quebec to the acceptance of the new plan of government. William McDougall and Alexander T. Galt skillfully coupled the confederation idea with the desire for westward expansion. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, a brilliant Irish-Canadian poet, journalist, and orator, served as the "Mazini of Canadian nationalism," and fervently proclaimed the gospel of "one great nationality bound, like the shield of Achilles, by the blue rim of ocean,"

to his wavering and timorous countrymen.

By 1864, political affairs in United Canada, which was composed of the old French province of Canada East (Quebec) and the newer English province of Canada West (Ontario), had reached a state of deadlock. Lord Durham, who was sent out to investigate and report on the causes of Canadian discontent following the rebellion of 1837, had found "two races warring within the bosom of a single state." therefore had recommended the union of Upper and Lower Canada under one government, in the hope that this would result in the gradual extinction of the French nationality along the lower St. Lawrence. But on this point Durham's epoch-making report was in error, for it underestimated the tremendous vitality of the old French-Canadian stock. By 1864 the amalgamation of the two races was no nearer than in 1837, and it was generally admitted that the legislative union of the two provinces was a failure.

In order to reconcile the conflicting interests of the rival provinces, and the separate racial stocks which they represented, it was necessary to resort to double majorities and double-headed ministries, drawn more or less equally from the two provinces. But even this cumbersome governmental device failed to produce the desired harmony, and by the early 1860's, cabinets rested on such unstable majorities that the government functioned at all only under the greatest difficulty. It proved impossible to dispel the prejudices of race and religion which divided the French and English elements of the Canadian population; the average life of ministries was now six months; and governments clung to their lease of power by the

most precarious majorities.

Because each of the two provinces had equal representation in the Union Parliament, one was always able to thwart the demands of the other. The English element clamored for a change in the Union Act so that representation might be based on population, a change which would have enabled the English to dominate the Union government, but this French Canada, fearful of attacks on her religion, language, and institutions, was prepared to resist to the last. Inequities in the apportionment of revenues between the two provinces, and numerous controversies over local matters, added greatly to the difficulties of the political situation. The only feasible solution which would guarantee national efficiency and at the same time satisfy local peculiarities seemed to be the formation of a federal government, to which could be granted all powers of a general nature, while each

province retained its local autonomy.

The fear and the example of the United States were other factors in hastening the federation of the Canadian provinces. The United States emerged from the Civil War a great military power. One of the aftermaths of the war was the strained relations between Great Britain and the United States, due largely to the attitude and the conduct of the English government toward the Southern Confederacy. Incidents like Great Britain's recognition of the belligerent status of the South, controversies with the Washington government over the enforcement of the blockade of Southern ports, the Trent affair, and border outrages committed by Confederate refugees, who had established themselves upon Canadian soil, not only left a heritage of hatred for Great Britain among the people of the United States, but proved immediately dangerous to the peace and security of Canada, which in any Anglo-American disturbance was bound to become the bone of contention and the battleground in case of an appeal to the arbitrament of war. The jingoistic attitude of certain American newspapers during the Civil War period added to the irritation and alarm of the Canadian population and often provoked bitter retorts in the Canadian press. Recruiting officers from northern states developed a system of "crimping" by which they secured men in Canada for military service in the Union army by methods which were often underhanded and a violation of Canadian sovereignty. The most serious result of the Civil War, as far as Anglo-American diplomacy was concerned, was the trouble over the building of Confederate cruisers, like the Alabama and the Florida, in British navy yards, and six years elapsed before any real progress was made toward the peaceful settlement of that controversy.

Largely as a result of the prevailing anti-British attitude, the United States government cancelled its reciprocity treaty with Canada and threatened to abrogate the disarmament agreement affecting the Great Lakes, which had been in existence since 1817.

Charles Sumner, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, rather broadly hinted at the possible annexation of Canada, and rejoiced over the purchase of Alaska, because it would "set a watchful Yankee on each side of John Bull in his far western Canadian possessions." Finally, thousands of Irish-Americans in the United States actually planned and carried out a military invasion of Canada in the foolnardy belief that Ireland might be helped along the road to independence by twisting the tail of the British lion in Canada. The Fenians, as these militant Irishmen were called, fought several spirited engagements on Canadian soil, and the border remained in a state of intense excitement for fully five years following the close of the Civil War.

The effect of these and other equally irritating incidents on public opinion of Canada and Great Britain was tremendous. Many foreign observers were convinced that the United States had emerged from the Civil War with a nationalism so intensified that there was immediate danger of an aggressive, militaristic policy toward its weaker neighbors. In the picturesque language of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, one of the promoters of confederation, "That shot fired at Fort Sumter was the signal gun of a new epoch for North America, which told the people of Canada, more plainly than human speech can express it, to sleep no more except on their arms." Canadians suddenly awoke to the need of consolidating their strength, and even the leaders of the old French Canada talked excitedly about the dangers of being annexed and absorbed by the American Republic.

England likewise could not fail to sense the perilous situation in which her North American provinces found themselves. The great West, beyond the modern Ontario and stretching to the Pacific, in 1864 was a Canada Irridenta, inhabited by Indians, halfbreeds, and the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company, and still under the governmental authority of that ancient fur-trading company. It was a highly debatable question whether the West would remain under Canadian control or whether the lusty giant nation to the south would not ignore the artificial international boundary fixed by diplomats, and pour its immigrants out over the Canadian prairies as they were even then overrunning the American Northwest. As a matter of fact, the isolated settlements of British Columbia on the Pacific coast were already being drawn into the economic orb of San Francisco.

But not only the fear of the United States, but also its example, figured prominently in the development of the Canadian federation movement. Canada had lived for three-quarters of a century as the nextdoor neighbor of the world's greatest experiment in federalism. And though the success of that experiment was temporarily beclouded by the Civil War, the United States had weathered even that crisis and seemed to be entering upon a new epoch of greater national unity.

It is impossible to note all of the other causes which contributed to the movement for confederation. The maritime provinces of New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia were virtually isolated from the rest of Canada, and were separated from each other by hostile customs barriers. An intercolonial railroad was imperatively necessary, to provide a physical bond between the various provinces, and to counteract the influence of the American railroads which were approaching dangerously near to the Canadian line. Railroad promoters combined with politicians in spreading the propaganda for a transcontinental railroad. As Professor Trotter, the most recent student of the confederation movement, has summarized it, federation was the work of a few leaders, "inspired by wide political vision, actuated by economic interest, stimulated by dangers of foreign aggression."

Space permits of only a very bried statement of the various steps by which the Dominion of Canada came into existence. In September, 1864, delegates from the three maritime provinces met in Charlottetown to consider plans for a legislative union. Great difficulties were encountered in the attempt to reconcile local differences, but the sessions of the Charlottetown Convention were interrupted at an early stage by the arrival of an informal delegation from United Canada, who urged the possibility of a nation-wide confederacy. Consequently, a larger convention, made up of delegates from all five of the Canadian provinces, and Newfoundland, assembled in October, 1864, in the old French city of Quebec. In sessions which did not exceed fourteen days of actual work, and behind closed doors, these thirty-three members of the first constitutional convention in the history of the British Empire worked out a series of seventytwo resolutions, which they promised to submit to their respective legislatures for ratification. Meantime, a Canadian delegation was dispatched to London to ascertain the attitude of the British government toward these federation proposals.

After a long and exhaustive debate, during which the whole political and economic future of Canada was submitted to close scrutiny, with many a squint at the United States, the legislatures of four provinces ratified the Quebec resolutions. The British North America Act, in substance a restatement of these resolutions, and providing for a federal, parliamentary plan of government, was then passed by the British Parliament, and on July 1, 1867, the act went into operation as the fundamental law of the new Dominion. At the time of its birth, the Canadian federation was composed of only four provinces. Today, nine provinces and two territories comprise the Dominion of Canada. The term "dominion" was substituted for "kingdom" of Canada, because the British minister of foreign affairs, in these gloomy days of Anglo-American friction, feared the word kingdom would "wound the sensibilities of the Yankees." As a matter of fact, confederation was discussed in the United States Congress, and several Congressmen and the legislature of Maine called the attention of the government at Washington to the dangers of the establishment of a new form of monarchial government on our northern border.

The Fathers of Confederation did their work well.

The British North America Act, while not entirely successful in avoiding the dangers of overlapping jurisdictions of provincial and federal governments, has, on the whole, provided a most satisfactory framework of government for the Canadian Dominion. Moreover, it has been sufficiently elastic to permit the steady development of a greater Canadian nationalism.

The Dominion, after sixty years of responsible government, is as free to determine her own policies, national and international, as the United States is. It would require a metaphysician to draw any distinction between the independence of the United States and that of Canada, and King George V has as little authority over Canada as he has over the people of the United States.

The evolution of Canadian nationhood had been especially rapid during these sixty years of confederation, and it is eminently fitting that the formal recognition of Canada's equal status in the British Commonwealth of Nations occurred almost simultaneously with the diamond jubilee of confederation. It was the Imperial Conference of 1926 which granted this formal recognition of Canadian nationhood.

During the premiership of Wilfrid Laurier, the last British garrisons left Canadian soil, and the control of Canadian naval and land defenses passed entirely under Dominion control. Since 1879, Canada has virtually enjoyed diplomatic representation in London, through the presence of her High Commissioner at the imperial capital. For fifty years and more, Canada has exercised complete fiscal autonomy, even when this involved levying prohibitive duties on British imports. She has also successfully established her right to determine her immigration policy, even when this involves discriminations against other races in the empire. Since 1877, the Dominion has not been bound by commercial treaties negotiated by Great Britain, unless she desired to adhere to them, and in 1899 Canada obtained the right of separate withdrawal as well as separate adherence in the matter of commercial agreements with other powers.

In 1909, a department of external affairs was added to the Dominion government, as a further step toward complete displomatic autonomy, and as an additional strain on the position of the governor-general, who traditionally was the only connecting link between the mother country and her dependency. Before the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, it was clearly understood that Canadian participation in imperial wars would depend on the free action of her own Parliament.

The Great War sounded the deathknell of the old British Empire, and gave birth to what Professor Zimmern has aptly called "the third British Empire," namely, the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Canadian premier during the war attended meetings of the imperial war cabinet in London and sat on equal terms with the members of the British cabinet. Important imperial questions were settled only after consultation with the prime ministers of all the self-governing dependencies. Canada's national status

was again recognized at the Versailles peace conference, and by assigning to the Dominion separate representation in the League of Nations Assembly, and on the various other international bodies and conferences which have met since 1919. The Ottawa Parliament insisted on separate ratification of the treaty with Germany, and in 1923 Canada negotiated a fisheries treaty with the United States direct, and without the services of the British ambassador either as intermediary or as a signer of the treaty.

At the Imperial Conference of 1926 an official statement was finally agreed upon in order to clarify the new and rather anomalous position in which the self-governing states found themselves as a result of their evolution since 1914. This report of the premiers on imperial constitutional relations has been called "the new Magna Charta of British Imperial Unity," although it really merely states in a formal way the customs and practices which have existed for a number of years in the conduct of imperial rela-In this document, the equal status of the dominions is clearly and graciously recognized by the mother country, and equality is declared to be the "root-principle" governing imperial affairs. complete autonomy of the Dominions is specifically guaranteed to the extent of including full treatymaking powers, the appointment of separate consular and diplomatic representatives in foreign countries, and far-reaching changes in the status of the governor-general.

Opinion is divided in Canada and elsewhere as to the real significance of this new "magna charta" of the Dominions. A few pessimists predict dire consequences for the empire. But most Britishers, whether they live in Canada or elsewhere in the empire, seem to believe that structural technique is the least important factor in imperial unity. The empire is built on common traditions, and, to some extent, on a common political philosophy, and is held together, as a world-wide community, by bonds which are none the less effective because they happen to be invisible and intangible.

It is highly possible that the report of 1926 will furnish a satisfactory constitutional basis for the British Commonwealth of Nations for many years to come. The Canadians, at any rate, celebrate the diamond jubilee of confederation, not as a people who believe that equal status in the empire means a "concealed process of disintegration," but rather as a nation which is sentimentally devoted to the mother country and which finds security in that connection. For the first time in the long history of the British Empire, the imperial structure has been clearly defined as a system of international co-operation.

Is Student Criticism in College Classes Worth While?

BY E. MARGUERITE HALL, ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, MONTEVALLO, ALABAMA

President Aydelotte has insisted that "we think too much about effective methods of teaching and not enough about effective methods of learning." Openminded history teachers who are endeavoring to keep in touch with "the latest styles" in the presentation of their subject, certainly cannot escape the impression that emphasis too often rests on the correct procedure of the pedagogue, rather than on a competent manner of learning by the student. The reason, I believe, is not difficult to explain. It is a much simpler problem to examine critically and make constructive suggestions on the teaching technique of the professor than it is to test accurately and completely the student's process of acquiring knowledge. Professor Ellison, in his very thought-provoking article in the May issue of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, attacked the problem of ineffective results in the social sciences on the ground of the present-day curricula, as well as on the basis of the poorly trained teacher; his plea for his five-year program was indeed a persuasive one. Many another educator is launching his attack not only against the teaching of the social sciences, but also against that method of teaching-so much in favor with college history professors-that is, the lecture system. We are all acquainted with Prince-

ton's Four Course Plan, Harvard's Semi-Tutorial System, University of Wisconsin's new experiment, the Honors Courses of Swarthmore and other institutions; we are aware that the purpose of these plans is to try among other things to increase the student's capacity for independent thinking and as a means to that end to reduce his dependence on the lecture. Struthers Burt maintains that: "At its worst it (lecture) is a mass of predigested knowledge; at its best, a possible source of inspiration," and that "next to the American habit of believing almost everything heard or read, the most vicious habit is the lecture habit, which, after all, is merely a symptom of the former. This is 'canned education' at its most insipid." While many of us might not accept unhesitatingly this estimate, still those of us who have listened through many an hour of professors' lecturing and who have inflicted in turn our "canned education" upon other listeners, know that there is more than the proverbial germ of truth in his accusation.

We are told often that this is the heyday of student independence; student government is increasingly permitted; undergraduate publications of student opinion have multiplied; coeds insist upon and obtain privileges never before granted; alert students generally are questioning traditions, customs, and beliefs that have been regarded formerly as not open for discussion. It has occurred to me that we as teachers of history and in keeping with our belief in historical-mindedness might utilize with advantage this present-day student attitude by inviting their thoughtful criticism of their own method of learning and of our method of instructing. For the past two years I have acted on this theory and have obtained some interesting, suggestive, and illuminating ideas even if no definite results. At the end of the year I have asked each student to think for a few days over the year's work and then write a criticism of the course. I have suggested that they keep in mind at least four things: What are the ablest features of the course? What are its defects? What have you personally been able to get out of the course? How might you have got more out of the year's work? I assured the students that the papers would not affect in any way their marks, that they would not be read until after their grades were determined. I made a short explanation, in which I invited their co-operation and urged a thoughtful and candid expression of opinion on their part.

The students were college undergraduates and about 50 per cent. were upper classmen and 50 per cent. sophomores. There were two outstanding criticisms which were recorded. About 85 per cent. of the sophomores felt that there was an inadequate check on the outside reading, while about 35 per cent. of the upper classmen offered the same criticism. About 80 per cent. of all students commended the lectures (we have about two lectures to one oral discussion) for their interesting content and their aid in clearing up obscure points, but objected to them on the grounds of their too rapid delivery and their crowding out oral discussions. Over three-fourths of all students admitted that an hour's oral discussion was the best training they had had in the development of independent and accurate thinking. Only about 10 per cent. of the entire group, however, wished all the class periods taken up with lectures. There were a number of adverse but interesting scattered criticisms. One student objected to the lack of tolerance on the part of the instructor; another felt that the professor's lecture on political parties and bosses left the impression that the situation was hopeless and a citizen could do nothing to change conditions; another felt her lack of background incapacitated her for getting anything more than the minimum out of the course; a senior noted that all the "meat questions" seemed to go to two or three students; another student felt that her own technique was deficient in that she tried to memorize too much and to reason too little; another commented on her inability to get the most out of the course, because she could not understand the instructor; another objected to the written examinations, which she insisted were a test of one's physical endurance quite as much as of one's intellectual caliber; another thought the lecture should always be concluded at the end of the hour and not

be carried over to be finished at the next meeting of the class. There were also encouraging, even enthusiastic, comments. That one which most delighted me was the impetus and encouragement to independent thinking and to open-mindedness to which nearly 90 per cent. of all students bore tribute. They felt that these qualities of mind were achieved mainly, however, through the oral discussions, rather than by means of the lecture process.

Of what value is such an inquiry? Are these criticisms of any importance? I must confess that I acted upon some of last year's criticisms and, I believe, with profit. I admit that I got an insight into some student problems which had never occurred to me. I honestly think that the student's intellectual inventory was not without profit to her, and I am certain that I got a better insight into the student's method of learning. However, at its best, this annual exercise might hope to accomplish several things: (1) To aid a student to take stock of what he has learned and of what he failed to learn: to help him to check up the results or accomplishments of the course with its aims as stated at the beginning. (2) To invite a student to examine his own ability, his background, his manner of acquiring knowledge, and from his own viewpoint to suggest a diagnosis of his case as an historical patient; the instructor as well as the student therefore might note something of the undergraduate's method of learning. (3) It affords the teacher an opportunity to glimpse his efforts (and sometimes himself) from the student angle. (4) It offers to the instructor definite suggestions as to ways he might modify advantageously his conduct of a course. (5) It produces frank criticism, and, even though this be by immature minds, such comment might produce desirable effects on the professor, who too infrequently submits his work to the same ruthless scrutiny to which he continually subjects the efforts of others.

At its worst, we might find these criticisms prepared by students too indifferent to really think on the problem or by undergraduates too unintelligent to make valuable comment; again, these students might fail to be intellectually honest or discriminating in their diagnoses and might use the paper as a means to win the instructor's favor or as an opportunity to vent their spite and hostility. Although I recognize clearly these possible limitations, and while I admit that perhaps such an exercise has no determinant conclusions, still, after two years' experiment, I believe the results have been worth while. criticisms have proved at times to be valuable guideposts in their suggestive indications to both teacher and undergraduate as to the student's habit of mind and as to the relative merits (at least, in my own case) of the lecture and oral discussion. The candid and thoughtful comment revealed by the great majority of these papers have led me to believe that perhaps it was not a bad practical lesson in historicalmindedness.

The New World History

BY PROFESSOR J. MONTGOMERY GAMBRILL, TEACHERS' COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

There is a new World History, because there is a new World Community. The progress of science has created this community in which interdependence is constantly increasing. It came and developed unbidden and irrespective of the wishes or even the foresight of men, making us all today citizens of the world, whether we like it or not. Inevitably, the number and range and complexity of international problems have increased, and men have sought to define and study them, dealing with such fields as the development of international law and the methods of diplomacy, imperialism in its various aspects, nationalism, international trade with its intricate ramifications, and organization for the management of international business and the promotion of world peace. Gradually we have come to recognize that we can profitably study the origins and development of the World Community-its history.

It would be an interesting experiment to attempt a history of humanity, with the gradual enlargement of community interest and organization as its central theme. Such a story would include the teamwork of primitive men, from the hunting pack to the tribal unit; the growth of city states, and kingdoms; the rise of great empires, culminating in the West with Rome and the Pax Romana; the political disintegration and social decay of Western civilization, followed by a gradual recovery; the building of the modern states east and west and of such striking groups as the American Union, the British Empire, and the German Republic; and the various international agencies, of which the League of Nations is the most conspicuous. Yet this story could not be adequately studied in terms of political organization merely, for not only are the moving causes of development economic and social very largely, but communities can and do exist with little or no political machinery, as in the case of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and most strikingly of all in the World Community itself.

In the making of the World Community of today two great developments have played the determining parts: the expansion of Europe over-seas and the development of applied science. Down to the fifteenth century of the Christian era the contacts of Europe with the Eastern world beyond the Levant were few and indirect, the American centers of culture were completely isolated from both Europe and the East, and Africa, beyond a northern belt, was but slightly known either to Europe or to Asia. All this changed rapidly in the remarkable era of European voyages of discovery leading to an immense extension of the contacts of peoples and cultures through commerce, conquest, migration, religion, and adventure. Henceforth there was a world stage for the human drama.

The beginning of the Industrial Revolution in eighteenth century England, following the relatively

few but important earlier scientific discoveries and inventions, marked the direct advent of an age of invention and applied science, a scientific revolution, which has transformed the world. This era has become peculiarly an age of integration, of ever-closer interdependence, in which the size of this planet has in effect been steadily shrinking, the common interests of its peoples growing more numerous and closely-knit, the world itself a neighborhood. "For the first time in the annals of our planet its inhabitants have become one whole, a community each and every part of which is affected by the fortunes of every other part....Thus have all men been forced to feel that the parts of the world have grown into one, for weal or for woe; thus comes it that now for the first time the History of the World in the full sense of the word can begin to be written." 1

The rise of this World Community naturally led to serious studies by scholars seeking to collect and organize and interpret facts, to define problems and suggest solutions. It is no accident that the famous work of Hugo Grotius, the first great treatise on the dealings of nations with each other, the basis of modern international law, should have appeared in the early seventeenth century, when the expansion of Europe was well under way. During the generation just past, and especially since the World Community was so terribly revealed by the lurid light of the World War and its aftermath, there has been a veritable flood of books and articles on international relations, international trade, world politics, nationalism, imperialism, problems of war and peace, with a few definite efforts to begin the writing of the new world history. The history of the writing of world history would itself make an interesting and illuminating story, if adequately told and interpreted. It must suffice here to point out that the new world history seeks to be fundamentally different in certain respects from the older general or universal history. Not only does it represent the general tendencies and characteristics of the "New History," but it seeks for world history a clearer unity and a more definite theme-the story of humanity and the development of the World Community.

The idea has been most effectively stated and advocated, not by a professional historian, but by an eminent novelist, Mr. H. G. Wells. He urges the conception of "history as the common adventure of all mankind," and declares that the story must be something quite different from "the history of England, plus the history of France, plus the history of Germany, plus the history of Russia, and so on. Universal history is at once something more and something less than the aggregate of the national histories to which we are accustomed, and it must be approached in a different spirit and dealt with in a different manner." Mr. Wells, attempting in his famous Outline (1920) to write the new kind of world

history, has been criticized severely both for weakness of scholarship and for an undue tendency to
preach and moralize. Whatever its faults, however,
the widely-read Outline has been enormously influential. As Professor C. J. H. Hayes 3 remarks, "his
work is truly important, because its general synthetic
aim is excellent, because it is timely, and because its
author has a voice that 'carries.' Mr. Wells is preparing the way for scholars and making the world
safe for historians."

Other thinkers had spoken before the distinguished novelist was heard, and the ideas which he so effectively exploits had previously been stated with clarity and vigor, though in voices not so widely heard among the populace, nor by those who conduct our schools. In 1913, Mr. F. S. Marvin published a really brilliant little volume called The Living Past, "a sketch of Western progress," in which he begins by "Looking Backward," includes chapters on "The Childhood of the Race," the rise of modern science, the Industrial Revolution and its meaning, the political and social revolutions that followed, and concludes by "Looking Forward." No chapters or sections are devoted to particular countries or states, but the growing unity of civilization is set forth as a living reality. Mr. Marvin declares that his clue "is no new discovery," and acknowledges his indebtedness to Kant's theory of universal history as the growth of a worldcommunity." Kant's vision was indeed remarkable. His "Idea of a Universal History" (1784) and "Eternal Peace" (1795), though written before the age of science, emphasize even in that day the close relationship and interlocking interests, political and commercial, of the states of Europe, while recognizing the problems raised by Europe's over-sea expansion, with its resulting rivalries and conflicts. He advocated for the first time a democratically controlled world state, in which the interests of individual men and states should be reconciled with those of all mankind.

In our own day no one has seen more clearly or stated more pointedly than Lord Bryce the basis and need for a new world history. Marvin, in the preface to his first edition of The Living Past (May 20, 1913), says: "The greatest encouragement which has occurred to me during the two or three years spent upon the book came at the close in Lord Bryce's address on April 3, 1913, as President of the International Congress of Historical Studies. It agrees so strikingly and in so many points with the view which I have suggested, that a few words must be quoted. 'The world,' he said, 'is becoming one in an altogether new sense.... More than four centuries ago the discovery of America marked the first step in the process by which the European races have now gained dominion over nearly the whole earth.... As the earth has been narrowed through the new forces science has placed at our disposal....the movements of politics, of economics, and of thought, in each of its regions, become more closely interwoven....Whatever happens in any part of the globe has now a significance for every other part. World History is tend-

ing to become One History....The widening of the field is also due to a larger conception of History, which (through the aid of archaeology) now enables us faintly to discern the outlines of a process of slow and sometimes interrupted development of mankind in the Old World during a period, each one of the divisions of which is larger than all the time that has elapsed since our first historical records begin."

In his Raleigh Lecture for 1919, previously quoted in this article, Lord Bryce develops these ideas and extends his discussion. He contrasts the older narrative method of "pursuing the course of events first in one country and then in another," with a different "way of trying to present the History of Mankind as a whole, which escapes some of the difficulties incident to the plan of a number of distinct narratives dealing with different countries. It is to adopt what may be called a cultural instead of a geographical scheme. Select certain main lines of human activity more or less present in every nation" and try to trace progress or decline. He then proceeds to some discussion of main threads, of processes and forces, and of epochs, ending on the note of "Mankind has at last become a Community," with the "dignity of a common citizenship.'

The growth of the World Community and the need for a new world history have been independently recognized and studied by others less known to the public, as they were independently recognized and formulated by Marvin and Bryce. The time was ripe for Mr. Wells' effective exploitation. A year later his Outline was followed by Van Loon's prize-winning juvenile, The Story of Mankind (1921), whose jaunty style and original illustrations won a wide circulation and contributed largely to popular interest in world history, though the book was almost entirely European in scope. In 1922 there appeared an English translation by Professor S. B. Fay of Eduard Fueter's scholarly Weltgeschichte (Zurich, 1921), as World History, 1815-1920. In 1926 came Professor Lynn Thorndike's Short History of Civilization; Dr. A. C. Flick's Modern World History, 1776-1926, "a survey of the origins and development of contemporary civilization"; and The Human Adventure, a trade edition of two excellent school textbooks, slightly revised, by Professors Robinson and Breasted. New editions appeared of several older manuals and series on general history. The significance of such works as Isaiah Bowman's The New World (1921), Hayes' Essays on Nationalism (1926), Moon's Imperialism and World Politics (1926), Marvin's The Century of Hope (1919), and Kay's The Trend of History (1922) is sufficiently evident.

What are the schools of the United States doing about the new world history? It may fairly be said that they are groping.

In the elementary schools there is scarcely a course anywhere to be found that could by any stretch of meaning be called a course in world history, or even stories illustrating the development of humanity, except that in some of the "European Background" courses so common in the sixth grade there is perhaps as near an approximation as many high school classes attain in courses labelled "world history." In the junior high school American history is still the almost universal offering. The Second Committee of Eight (Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in Schools) intended to recommend a twoyear survey of world history in grades seven and eight, but in timid deference to the inflamed nationalism of 1919 they named the course "American History in Its World Setting," urged "special emphasis upon our own contributions and problems," and in other ways stressed the American element. As a result there has been wide misunderstanding and the influence of the committee has been apparent chiefly in a somewhat greater emphasis upon the foreign relations of the United States or in more attention incidentally to important European developments during the period of our national history. The absence of special textbooks in world history for these grades is sufficiently significant. Several interesting trade books for youthful readers have appeared, however, among them Hillyer's Child's History of the World (Century Co., 1924) and Happold's The Adventure of Man (Harcourt, 1926).

In the senior high school a very different condition prevails. World history courses, usually one year in length, but sometimes a year and a half or two years, are frequently found about the tenth grade level. These courses are increasing in number and textbooks are multiplying impressively.4 A few interesting experiments are being worked out.4 Yet it cannot be said that the high schools have really caught the idea of the new world history. Both the courses and the textbooks remain in nearly all cases overwhelmingly European in content and point of view, while the reasons for introducing them are in many cases utterly reactionary. Any one who has the opportunity of visiting schools and making inquiries will soon learn that very often the new course is introduced simply to cover as much ground as possible in the one year of history other than American which is offered, and that the exigencies of a commercial or technical curriculum or the conflicting demands of other social studies are the real explanation, rather than any recognition of a World Community or of the need for a new world history. Such a practice is simply a reversion to the old "general history" so vigorously attacked a generation ago and for many years so completely discredited. Such a change is not progressive, but reactionary, however much it may superficially seem to conform to a current fashion. When the substance of two or three years' work under the Committee of Seven program is crammed into a highly condensed epitome for one year it is no wonder that children gag and the course is sometimes such a failure that it has to be dropped from the curriculum.

If world history is to justify its place in the high school curriculum it must be fairly representative in treatment and point of view of the new world history, which Bryce and Marvin and Wells have explained and justified, not of the old and discredited "general history." While Europe must continue to play a very prominent part in the story, because of the ex-

traordinary Europeanization of the world which began with the age of discovery and still continues, we must not distort the picture by giving our attention exclusively to Europe, even though we also have something to say of its contacts with other continents. In particular, the rich and important and ancient cultures of Asia must receive some sympathetic study. The United States (and the other American countries) must be recognized as after all a part of the world, sharing its fortunes and experiencing many of the same fundamental developments. It is essential that we give up our devotion to comprehensive epitomes and abstract generalizations, limit our topics and periods according to the time at our disposal for really fruitful study, and supply a reasonably adequate body of concrete reading and graphic material. The relation of the world history course to the separate American history and "Problems" courses now commonly offered should be carefully studied, and consideration shall be given to the rich possibilities of correlation with other fields (Literature, fine arts, music, natural science, industrial arts) which the study of the "new history" offers, and indeed requires for the best results. Point of view is absolutely vital-it must not be regional or national or racial or religious, but as objectively as possible the outlook of the World Community. An interesting problem for study is the possible development of a common core that might be embodied in world history courses in the schools of all countries.

Whether world history should in some form and in some way be taught in the elementary school, whether its chief place should be in the junior or the senior high school, are questions that cannot be taken up here, though it may be said unhesitatingly that teachers at all levels should know something about world history and understand its viewpoint. It should certainly have at least one place of importance, intelligently chosen, in every program for the social studies. In addition to the values we expect from the study of history in general, world history has its own special contributions to make. The point of view which it may develop and foster is invaluable, and it may aid uniquely in promoting knowledge and deeper understanding of the World Community in

which we all live.

² Outline of History, Preface, v-vi.

³ Freeman, March, 1921, p. 21.

⁴ See D. C. Knowlton's "History and the Other Social Studies in the Tenth Grade," Historical Outlook, February, 1926; and J. M. Gambrill, Experimental Curriculum-Making in the Social Studies (McKinley Pub. Co., 1924).

⁵ Comenius in the seventeenth century had the idea of a common book of knowledge, including history, for all pro-

¹ James Bryce, World History, the Raleigh Lecture for 1919, Oxford University Press.

⁶ Comenius in the seventeenth century had the idea of a common book of knowledge, including history, for all peoples. The idea fascinates H. G. Wells, who develops it at length in two chapters, entitled, "The Bible of Civilization," in his Salvaging of Civilization (1921), wherein he argues for "a standard World History for general use in the world's schools" to be prepared by "historians from all the civilized peoples of the world." Professor Henry Johnson in his chapter of Dawson's Teaching the Social Studies (1927) demands "a world history of the world,... one world history for all children of the world" (pp. 232-233), a proposal which he advocated in a local conference 233), a proposal which he advocated in a local conference in Illinois many years ago.

The Technique of the History Assignment

BY J. MORTON-FINNEY, M.A., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

Napoleon Bonaparte, with his renowned, unpremeditated resourcefulness in battle, is said to have declared that, when laying plans for a campaign or determining his strategy for a single engagement, he was a thorough coward. He considered the most minute detail; left no stone unturned. Such was the character of this master of master strategists and makers of war. The energy, mediocrity, and inertia of the enemy bred no relaxation of this trait in his military character; his was a policy of being doubly sure. History teaches that stubborn conquest and continued control admit of no other procedure with success.

Society is engaged in the conquest of youth for the control of civilization. The engagement is stubborn and persistent. The history teacher is a chosen director of the campaign, so like the master strategist should leave no detail unscrutinized. He is especially charged to consider well the whole of the recitation, even unto its several parts. Foremost among these parts is the assignment.

THE RECITATION A UNITY OF ELEMENTS

From the point of view of activity the history recitation is a unity of four elements; namely, (1) the orientating review of that which precedes what is next to be done, (2) the what is next to be done, (3) the doing, and (4) the survey-summary of what was next done in the light of what was next to be done. Of these elements our concern will be with the second, "the what is next to be done." We shall undertake to analyze it; to consider the various actors and activities inherent in it, and to reach some judgment as to a pedagogically sound method of procedure in it.

CERTAIN ASSUMPTIONS IN THE DISCUSSION

This discussion shall proceed on the basis of these assumptions: that the teacher will make the assignment; that the teacher's activity in the statementdiscussion element of the recitation unit; that is, in "the doing" element, will be a force much more potential than dynamic; that the pupils are of junior high school grade; that in actual recitation the pupil is to have the right of way as against the teacher in questions, statements, and discussions of subjectmatter accessible to the class or any of its members; that in actual recitation the pupil will be much more active than passive; that out of class the teacher's function is that of providing ways and means for pupil activity; that in actual recitation the teacher's function is that of non-obstructive supervision and non-dominating guidance and direction of pupil activity, and that the principle on which the whole of this element, actual recitation, is to move, is to be that of "learning by doing," rather than "learning by listening"; that the aim of history study is the acquisition of social intelligence and wholesome social ideals and attitudes along with adequate history study technique. This acquisition is to consist of a knowledge of the facts and forces that have shaped and

may shape society, and of an insight into the motives and incidents basing these facts and forces together with a body of habits of thinking and feeling that are prejudicial to certain desirable courses of personal and group conduct; and withal the power to supplement and revise this knowledge and these habits through ability to select, interpret, and evaluate historical subject-matter.

THE TEACHER, THE PUPIL, AND THE ASSIGNMENT The joint relationship of teacher and pupil in posting the assignment raises the question as to just what part each participant is to take in this mutual engagement. The general practice to be followed has already been indicated.

The teacher, on a basis of definite objective knowledge of the pupil's interests and abilities, will plan a layout of subject-matter to engage the interest and efforts of the pupil in their varying degrees of intensity and extension. The pupil, taking this workable matter, will work through it simultaneously in breadth and depth, according to his interest and ability. In this element of the recitation unity, if the general objectives of history study, more particularly the development of ability to handle successfully different types of thought problems, are to be achieved and the specific aims of the lesson unit are to be attained, among which being practice in handling a specific type of thought, the teacher must have priority of activity in the comparative amount of individual participation. While his activity, both physical and mental, will be more readily observable than that of any other single individual in the class, it should be in small ratio to that of the collective group mentally and in not more than equal proportion physically, except in rare instances. To achieve this the teacher will constantly be called upon by the demands of individual differences and aptitudes to reduce his knowledge of the general principles of child, adolescent and subject psychology to a working basis of specific pupil skills, interests, habits of study, study technique, and study opportunity. He will be a specialist in each of the pupils he teaches, as well as a specialist in each of the divisions of his subject of instruction. He must quickly pass beyond the externals of pupil acquaintance and acquire a scientific insight into those determining factors, social, pedagogical, mental, and study, of pupil subject success.

THE TEACHER AND THE ASSIGNMENT

Specifically, the teacher will determine the immediate objectives the lesson is to be directed toward. He will set the activities the pupils are to engage in; select the subject-matter to be used in these activities; provide the pivotal illustrative materials to be used, and decide the form and procedure that the recitation proper is to take subsequent to the assignment. While all these items look forward to the assignment, they are seen to have root in different elements of the recitation unity, hence the necessity

for seeing the recitation in its entirety while planning and making the assignment. This array of teacher prerogatives would seem to preclude, or unnecessarily restrict, all independence in initiative and endeavor on the part of the pupil. Such, however, is not the case. They are but the guide line of teacher supervision, guidance, and direction, the pedagogical moorings that give point and purpose to pupil zeal and effort that would otherwise be too largely diffused. The degree of nicety, in the light of our aforesaid assumptions, with which the teacher makes use of these prerogatives distinguishes alike the apprentice, the journeyman, and the master in the field of instruction.

THE PUPIL AND THE ASSIGNMENT

The pupil, on his part, is to get a clear understanding of (1) what he is expected to do; (2) where he is to do it; (3) when he is to do it; and (4) mutually derived suggestions as to how he may do it. The what, where, when, and how of the assignment are the pupil's concern. Again, pupil independence and intiative seem to be curtailed by teacher prescription. The principle here advocated is that of Socratic development and shared activity, teacher and pupil, as against the principle of adumbration, vagueness, and indeterminateness supposedly for the purpose of allowing a wide range of latitude for pupil adjustment according to individual differences.

Definite specification, division rather than in mass, in the history assignment more often restricts the extension of pupil activity than it does the intensity of pupil activity. In thought work in history, as contrasted with memory work, definite specification in the assignment diverts pupil effort from superficial quantity to thoroughness in quality. It substitutes the qualitative idea for the quantitative and places a premium on complete comprehension, true learning. The pupil working under such a program realizes that fractional learning is not one of the objectives, expressed or implied, of the history course, so a conscious effort is made to get full possession of what is necessary and prerequisite to a satisfactory accomplishment of the work at hand; namely, the assignment.

THE FORM OF THE ASSIGNMENT

The rôle to be played by the teacher and the pupil respectively in presenting the assignment is further conditioned by the form in which the assignment is cast. This form may be thought of from the point of view of type of pupil activity to be engaged in in the third element of the recitation unity; that is, in the "doing" element, or from the point of view of record and reference of the second element; that is, of the "what is next to be done" element. We consider the latter.

Again we recur to our principle of definite specification. The written assignment lends itself especially to the attributes inherent in this principle. It combines the advantages of documentary record and verbal explanatory reference and identical repetition. The junior high school adolescent, because of his at-homeness with the concrete, experiences but lit-

tle vagueness as coming from the teacher in written assignments. The teacher, on his part, learns not only to weigh his words, but also learns to weigh especially that bugbear of junior and senior high school pupils, history phraseology.

Merely casting the assignment into written form is no absolute guarantee of itself that it will contain no pupil comprehension and performance difficulties. It is, however, from the point of view of "explanatory reference" provocative of pupil inquiry before setting out to do that which is not clear in the mind of the performer. From the point of view of "identical repetition," different pupils may bring up again and again, if desirable individually, the same point for explanation and clarification, and all will have the identical words and phrases of the assignment before them for reference.

This requested repetition on the part of the pupil may appear undesirable, but it is not wholly avoidable in an actively interested class group. Not only is it undesirable, but it is also natural. For instance, in a class group consisting, say, of twenty pupils, suppose the activity under discussion in the assignment has several elements or points in it that may be discussed by way of clarification of words, or phrases; pronunciation of words; relating what has gone before to what is to be done in a particular phase of the assignment; suggesting possible procedures; designating references, and so forth, the whole class is actively engaged mentally in following what is taking place. The principle of individual differences would counsel an expectation of repetition of question on points already just explained, either in general or to some previous query on the same point. Our contention here may more readily be seen, if it is set out

Suppose the class consists of these pupils: A, B, C, D, E,....N, and that the several discussable elements in the activity are a, b, c, d, e, f, g,....n, and that these elements are more or less discontinuous. Suppose further that the elements are taken up serially, beginning with "a," for explanation and discussion. It is obvious that, even though the group is homogeneously classified and all pupils in it may apply their attention to element "a" at the initiation of the explanation and discussion of the first of its phases taken up, they all will not proceed in following the discussion with the same rate of comprehension and thoroughness. For instance, while pupil B is tarrying in his thinking to round out "a," pupils A, C, and E may be going to the consideration of element "b" with the teacher, and D will be seeing in advance a relationship between element "b" and element "c." Thus it is that some will in their associative and anticipatory thinking run ahead of and around the words and ideas of the speaker; others will lag behind them, while still others will, perhaps, follow here and there in the course of the discussion to the letter what is being said and done, this and no more.

This group heterogeneity in thought activity is

unavoidable. It is conditioned by many factors beyond the control of the teacher; yet it must be reckoned with by him. The larger the class, the larger this circle of possible thought plurality, and the more numerous are the tangents that are open to dissipate thinking and divert individual attention from the current discussion. The written assignment is a limiting channel along which the stream of class thought may flow and affords the teacher a powerful means for directing the thinking of the group, to the extent of preventing large amounts of divergent thought drifting along tangents pertinent to the point of discussion, but proceeding further and further from the center of group attention and effort the longer it is pursued by the individual pupil. This possibility of divergence is multiplied both by the number of pupils in the group and the number of their individual apperceptive experiences. The purely oral assignment falls victim to these dissipating possibilities and often brings a group to class with little or no preparation and with conflicting statements of what the assignment is. In their effort to overcome this weakness in the oral assignment, teachers have tried to reduce their assignments to the maximum of brevity, hence the: "Take the next six pages for the next time" and the "Take chapter four for the next lesson," and the like. Such assignment is the very essence of simplicity in form and a veritable porcupine or cheval-de-frise in effect.

Although this assignment apparently contains the "what, the where, and the when," in truth, it contains but the "where" and the "when." "Take" and its ilk are usually interpreted by the pupil as meaning "read and commit to memory." Breaking the "what" of the assignment into definite units of activity often raises the question of the "how." This provokes pupil thought and teacher study of pupil interest, performance, and abilities. Thus it is that pupil performance and recitation success are closely bound to the assignment, not merely by a single bond of connection, but by numerous fibers of direct and indirect penetration. These connections are most clearly revealed through the results of recitations based upon specific and analytic written assignment.

The problem and the project as a method of study and instruction are especially suited to the written assignment. The dangers natural to the problem and the project as a method are especially diminished by the written analytic assignment setting forth the specific aim to be achieved in the course of reaching a complete synthetic judgment on the whole point of investigation-the problem or project. One of these major dangers is that of making the problem too comprehensive, too all-inclusive, and thereby inviting dissipation of pupil effort and engendering habits of superficial thinking, as well as too much skimming in reading. The cumulative effect of this is often such that pupils will not continue to bear the burdens of its discouragement and its failure to show definitely discernible steps of accomplishment in reaching the ultimate goal of the lesson. The indeterminate assignment and the assignment with giant steps of

visible achievement find but small place of favor in modal child and adolescent effort. The pupil likes to see tangible results of his efforts, and these as quickly as possible after the act and in approved form. This means that the history problem or project must be relatively small in its breadth and that even this should be divided into smaller sub-problems leading to the major.

THE EXTENT OF THE ASSIGNMENT

History problems may be classified broadly into (1) factual problems and (2) judgment problems. Each of these falls into further classification. Dewey has given us definition of such problem as we contemplate here.1 Factual problems involve the mere finding and setting forth of such historical data as dates, personages, places, acts, and events. The problem lies in the formulation of a judgment culminating in selection and organization. Carter-Monroe have set out a number of the various forms problems of thought may take.2 Of course, there is a close affinity between these two types of problems. In fact, they are inseparable. Then, there must be a difference other than that of their respective data that should be sought. This difference is found in the relative amount of emphasis to be placed upon each of the components of the phrase "factual problem." When emphasis falls on "factual," memory work stands out and class activity is directed to the accumulation of information. When the emphasis falls on "problem," judgment is implied, and the development of abilities and attitudes is the objective.

With emphasis on the problem conception of history instruction and history study, we now ask, How many problems should a single assignment contain? The writer has found that in the 7B, 7A, and 8B grades one major problem with from two to six minor sub-problems will usually be sufficient. Usually two things determine whether these will be adequately completed within a single recitation period; namely, the extent to which each sub-problem is discussed and the general recitation abilities of the class; such as, pupil skill in questioning, handling references, skill in answering questions, giving individual solutions, criticisms, promptness in response, handling wall maps, illustrative materials, notebook exhibits, and making survey-summaries. This 7A written assignment, based upon Woodburn and Moran's "Elementary American History and Government" as a text, will make clear what we have in mind:

I. Lesson Aim (Major Problem):

To learn how the South tried to stop the Abolitionist activities.

II. Problems (Sub-problems):

- 1. To see how the South tried to control the mails.
- To see what effect the anti-slavery petition had upon Congress.
- 3. To see what "Gag Rule" was and how long it lasted.
- To see what part Wendell Phillips took in the quarrel over slavery.

III. Study Topics:

"Freedom of the Mails," p. 298.
 "Anti-Slavery Petitions," p. 299.

3. "The Gag-Rule," p. 299.

4. "Wendell Phillips the Abolitionist," p. 298.

These problems seem to be purely factual and barely within the category of "problem." Problem number 1 involves in its solution selection on a given basis; number 2, cause and effect and statement of relationship; number 3, explanation; and number 4, selection, analysis, and evaluation on a given basis. These are the minimum essentials in the solution of these problems at study. An adequate answer to each of these problems embraces statement and definition, suggested solutions and their evaluation, collection and organization of pertinent data, and drawing of conclusions based upon the data assembled and evaluated. It is true that the amount of reflection and activity required for the solution of each of these problems is quite small from the adult and teacher point of view; nevertheless, it is a problem workable by the child and challenges him to attack it with a real expectation of success and the assurance that he knows precisely where he is going in his efforts.

THE ASSIGNMENT AND STUDY.

With standing instructions for study and eternal vigilance as to their use, the pupil knows that the assignment looks forward to more than mere factual memorization. We see real worth in such instructions in the hands of each pupil, to which pointed reference may be made at the time of assignment. A small card may have this:

Study Hints for HISTORY

Read Your History Lesson Twice

First Reading

1. First Step-Read RAPIDLY each section to get a general notion of the story.

Second Step—Try to connect the main thought of the section with something else you know in history.

3. Third Step-Recall quickly where every place mentioned is.

Fourth Step—Repeat without book as much as you can, IN YOUR OWN WORDS.

5. Fifth Step-Make a statement of what you think the writer's aim was in writing this section.

Second Reading

1. First Step-Read CAREFULLY each section.

Second Step—Look up in a geography, or on a map in your history, all places you do not remember or do not know

3. Third Step-Jot down a list of the main "facts" given in

each section. (Do this as you read.)

4. Fourth Step—List the connection you can make between each "fact" you wrote and any other "fact" you know. (First connect it with a fact you learned in history; then connect it with a "fact" you did not learn in history. history.) 5. Fifth Step-

-Make a statement of what you think about the whole thing.

Such a device may be referred to in whole or in part, depending upon the point under discussion in the assignment. In any case, rigid formality in its use is to be avoided at time of assignment.

The fundamental procedure in the solution of a history problem is quite standardized and simple. It is well that the pupil learn this as soon as possible in his study of history. Standing instructions on this point may likewise be placed in the hands of each pupil and the assigner will find it quite valuable as

an instrument of reference on a particular phase of the work to be done by the pupil. A small card for each may have this:

HOW TO SOLVE A HISTORY PROBLEM

First Step:

Make sure you know what the problem calls for-what it means.

Get all information on the problem you can by reading your text, and any other books with something on the subject; ask teachers and other persons questions about it and make notes on what they say. Get information anywhere and everywhere you can. Third Step:

Read carefully all information you have collected to see what of it helps to answer your problem. Keep that which helps answer the problem; put aside that which does not help answer the problem.

Fourth Step:

Study carefully the information you have kept and from it write your answer to the problem. Make your answer clear in its meaning and complete on all points.

An assignment thus tied to the subsequent study process must needs be clearly understood in detail by each and every member of the class, if each is to give his best efforts and expect some approved success therefrom.

THE ASSIGNMENT AND THE RECITATION

Interest in the assignment is further stimulated in both teacher and pupil if it is known in advance that a definite recitation procedure will be followed and that each participant will be included in more than one phase of the work. To have a plan of procedure is not the crime it is so often pictured to be. A constant change of technique in class procedure is grossly unfair to the pupil. The pupil in his performance is, with such change, never on familiar ground, but is ever shrouded with a cloud of uncertainty and embarrassment. Individual freedom and orderly procedure are not necessarily incompatible. There is such a thing as "liberty under the law" and this is what is here meant. Such a procedure may well include: (1) statement of the problem for discussion (any pupil), (2) identification of those who do not know what problem is before the class for discussion, (3) statement of answer to the problem (any pupil), (4) pupil questions to the pupil giving his answer (all desiring), (5) corrections on original answer and any other statements concerning it (any pupil), (6) additions to the original answer (any pupil), (7) statement of complete answer from what has been said (any pupil), (8) statement of agreement of complete answer as given (class vote), (9) statement of points of disagreement (any pupil), (10) statement of correct and complete answer (any pupil), (11) statement of readiness of class to consider the next problem (class vote).

This procedure makes again the tie between assignment and recitation proper very close. It does not "go" unless there has been specific preparation; specific preparation will not be made unless there is a clear understanding of what is to be done, and nothing will be done unless it is do-able by the pupils who are to do it. The assignment, therefore, becomes an object of study to the teacher, not for the purpose of locating "dumb" pupils, but for the purpose of "teaching" pupils. By "teaching" we do not have in mind "telling."

THE TIME OF THE ASSIGNMENT

The question of where in the recitation unity should the assignment be made is one of much controversy and vital concern. The contending partisans generally fall into three groups of opinion. There is the a priori group, consisting of those who think it should precede and initiate the recitation proper. There is the a posteriori group, made up of those who believe sufficient time should be reserved after the recitation proper for this purpose. There is the opportunist group, composed of those who say that the teacher should play a game of watchful waiting during the course of the recitation proper and seize the first opportunity available for making the assignment. The question remains as to whether there is an optimum time for making the assignment.

The chief idea governing the opinion of the first group is that of certainty of making the assignment; that governing the second group is that the assignment is not so important, but that it should give way to the recitation proper to run its full course. Whatever time is left after the recitation proper, they think, will suffice. These teachers often revel in high I.Q.'s, and thumb and rethumb the intelligence records of their classes. The opportunist is never worried. He considers himself an expert in seizing upon assignment fundamentals and can skim them off as they boil to the top in a recitation with a deftness and accuracy sufficient for high-grade work with any class at any time in any phase of his subject. Fortunate is the pupil who is given a measure of relief from the evil effects of a continued use of any one of these practices through attendance at a highly departmentalized school.

Clearly there is merit in the contentions of each of these groups. The a priori group emphasizes certainty; the a posteriori economy of time, and the opportunist class interest. The elegant assignment should be characterized by each of these features. It is, then, a happy combination of these features that should largely determine the point at which the assignment should be made. If the assignment is planned on fundamental, pedagogical principles, and is to be presented as an art, all possibility of chance success should be eliminated. Because of the certainty of the pass bell; because of the human likelihood of going a second or so overtime in recitation discussion, and because the assignment must be made with certainty, economy, appeal, clearness, and accuracy as planned, the assignment should precede the The base assignment recitation proper, usually. should be supplemented at the close of the recitation when developments warrant it and the teacher is reasonably certain that this extra assignment will bring success both to the pupils receiving it and to the class as a group. Such extras are not to be indulged in as a practice; they usually draw forth half-hearted effort; engender habits of deliberate fractional learn-

ing, and place the work of the class on a plane lower than the abilities of its members merit, not to mention the devastating effect it has in undermining pedagogical efficiency. Better incorporate those brilliant ideas that come in the course of a recitation in a subsequent regularly planned assignment or review with reasonable assurance that the class will profit from them than encase them in an impromptu assignment committed to chance success and made in the name of and with the appearance of alert resourcefulness.

THE ASSIGNMENT AND THE RECITATION SUMMARY

The tie between major problem and recitation summary is direct and close. The minor sub-problems are the steps along which the survey and epitomization of the recitation proper are to proceed. A statement of the major problem is but the topical sentence of the great recitation-paragraph. If mind wandering and class discussion have gone along the channel set, the recitation has been a unit the limits of which have been determined by the breadth and depth of the ability and effort of the class in its attempt to pursue the assignment.

In this consideration of the assignment, pupil success in terms of success marks has not been discussed. No success limits in the form of teachers' marks have been set. The discussion contemplates the setting before pupils of workable work and stimulating them to whatever success their abilities as studying pupils and our abilities as assigning teachers can bring. The only hurdle of achievement we wish the pupil to leap here is that of handicap through the lack of adequacy in lesson assignment. In truth, the hurdle is not so much the pupil's as it is the teacher's. Teachers' marks are intended to summarize professional opinion of pupil achievement; they also summarize, quite largely, professional success in lesson assignment.

CONCLUSION

The members of every history class are entitled to assignments planned according to the best pedagogical principles and presented according to the best pedagogical art. This is not merely another aspect of pupil worship or soft pedagogy, but it is an unerring sign of professional proficiency. The assignment has a philosophy and set of principles all its own. These are not wholly to be found in current practice, though current practice has its lessons, but are to be sought and discovered in individual observation, experimentation and study. He who enters this territory will find it quite unexplored and will see there opportunities for achievement worthy of his most sanguine effort and intelligent consideration. To him who thrills with the joy of accomplishment will come the pleasure of seeing the dullest pupil grow bright in the light of elegance in assignment.

¹ Dewey, John. "How We Think," pp. 9 ff and 72 ff. ² Carter, R. E., and Monroe, W. S. "The Use of Different Types of Thought Questions in Secondary Schools," etc., Bul. 14, Bur. of Ed. Research, College of Education, Univ. of Ill., 1923.

Training the Teacher in Service

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THE NEED FOR SPECIAL TRAINING

That the teacher of social studies needs special training in both content and methods seems to have gone somewhat beyond the stage of academic discussion, but facilities unfortunately have been lacking in many parts of the country for putting into general practice what may be regarded as an accepted theory. True as this fact is with respect to our senior high schools, it applies with even greater force to our grammar and junior high schools. The necessity of training in methods for senior high school teachers of social studies has been well presented by Pierce, Dawson, Prichard, and Lonn, and most recently, Shryock. Not enough has been said for the special training of the grammar and junior high school teachers of the social studies and altogether too little has been done.

It is recognized, as has been pointed out by Shryock, that reasons exist for not giving separate methods courses for junior high school teachers. On the other hand, there are some very good reasons for training the junior and senior high school teachers in separately administered courses of study. One rather significant reason appears for separate organization and that is that in a highly specialized course of this type the bibliography differs rather considerably for the two schools. Whether the course in methods is given separately or jointly, the most important problem is the training of the teacher in service. There is some assurance that an increasing number of teachers entering service will have some special training, but what are we doing for the teacher in service or what is the teacher in service doing to acquire this special training? In too many cases there is little that she can do, because facilities for both specialized teacher training and guidance in development in the social studies are lacking.

The purpose of this paper is to make generally available to teachers in the above two categories, who are desirous of improving themselves in service -and there are many, indeed-an outline in the teaching of history and civics in the grammar or junior high school grades, with suggested bibliographies. No claim is made to original organization not to exhaustive listing of references. The organization here given has proven useful in a course in methods as taught for three summers by the writer at the Hyannis Normal School. If reading references are to be relevant to the special aspects of the larger problem of methods in history and civics, it is necessary to follow some particular organization of major topics with significant sub-topics. For purposes of convenience six major topics are included in the outline:

I. History and Civics: Aims and Values.

- II. Courses of Study and Content of History and Civics.
- III. Methods in History and Civics Teaching.
- IV. The Use of Materials and Equipment.
- V. Measuring the Results of Teaching.
- VI. The History and Civics Teacher.

In the interests of economy of space minor divisions of the above topics are not included at this point.

Before turning to the outline with its references, attention is directed to several special compilations of bibliographical materials. Every teacher of social studies should be acquainted with the invaluable service of Professor Shryock in preparing "An Analytical and Descriptive Guide to the Materials in The History Teacher's Magazine and THE HIS-TORICAL OUTLOOK, Vols. I to XVI, 1909-1925, HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, XVI (1925), 355-94. No list would be complete without including the bibliographical references found in the two books most frequently listed in the following outline: Henry Johnson's The Teaching of History in the Elementary and Secondary Schools (1915) and R. M. Tryon's The Teaching of History in the Junior and Senior High Schools (1921). More recent materials will be found in D. C. Knowlton's History and the Other Social Studies in the Junior High School (1926). A brief but basic bibliography is Rugg's "A Selected and Annotated Bibliography" in "The Social Studies in the Elementary and Secondary School," Twenty-Second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, II, 305-09 The annotated work of Thompson in "A Guide to Readings in Civic Education," University of California Syllabus Series, No. 157, contains materials covering content and methods. Harry E. Barnes's The New History and the Social Studies (1925), which discusses the relationship of history to the other social studies, contains excellent bibliographical notes. Especially valuable bibliographies contributed by specialists will be found in the recent book, written and edited specifically for the social studies of the secondary school, by Edgar Dawson, under the title Teaching the Social Studies (1927).

Several suggestions may be made to the teacher who, using the outline below, feels the need of a somewhat more unified account than the detailed list of references seems to give. The articles on "History and the Other Social Studies in Junior and Senior High Schools" covering grades VII to XII, written or edited by Stone, Pierce, Hill, Knowlton, Morehouse, Dawson, and a summary by Tryon, and appearing in The Historical Outlook during the school year 1925-1926, are especially recommended. The series of articles by Knowlton on "The Teaching of History in the Junior High School," appearing

in THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK for the academic year 1924-1925, cover ably the general field.6 For summary purposes the single article by Gathany on "The Teaching of the Social Science Studies in the Junior High School" should be included here. More recent and comprehensive is the chapter on the social studies in the Fifth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence (1927).8

It will become apparent as one glances through the list of references included in the outline that no teacher desirous of improving herself in service can afford to be without THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK. The frequent references in the outline to articles in that magazine will, in the interests of economy of space,

be designated by the letters H. O.

I. HISTORY AND CIVICS: AIMS AND VALUES

A. General purposes of the junior high school organization.

Davis, Junior High School Education, I, IV; Van
Denburg, The Junior High School Idea, I; Briggs,
The Junior High School, I (esp. 20-28), III; Fifth
Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence,
"The Junior High School Curriculum," 10-18.

B. Place of the social studies in the junior high school pro-

gram of studies.

United States Bureau of Education, "The Social Studies in Secondary Education," Bulletin 28, 1916, 9-14, 15-34; Tryon, Smith and Rood, "The Program of Studies in Seventy-eight Junior High School Centers," School Review, XXXV (1927), 96-107; Briggs, The Junior High School, 178-93; Davis, Junior High School Education, XI; Van Denburg, The Junior High School Idea, X; Bobbitt, How to Make

a Curriculum, VII.

a Curriculum, VII.

C. Place of history and civics among the social studies.
Johnson, The Teaching of History, I-III; Klapper,
The Teaching of History, I-IV, X, XII; Knowlton,
"History in Its Relation to the Junior High School,"
H. O., XVI (1925), 18-22; Knowlton, History and
the Other Social Studies, II, VIII; United States
Bureau of Education, "The Social Studies in Secondary Education," Bulletin 28, 1916, 15-34; Dawson,
Teaching the Social Studies, I, II, VII, IX, XI;
United States Bureau of Education, "The Teaching
of Community Civics," Bulletin 23, 1915, 9-19; United
States Bureau of Education, "Vocational Guidance
in Secondary Education," Bulletin 19, 1918, 16-28; States Bureau of Education, "Vocational Guidance in Secondary Education," Bulletin 19, 1918, 16-28; Johnson et al., "Characteristic Elements of the Social Studies," H. O., XIII (1922), 327-37; Hill, "History for History's Sake," H. O., XII (1921), 310-15; Tuell, "History as a Social Study," H. O., XIV (1923), 103-06; Tryon, "Desirable Adjustments Between History and the Other Social Studies," H. O., XIII (1922), 78-82; Martz, "The Place of History in a New Social Studies Program," H. O., XV (1924), 71-73; McMurry, Special Method in History, 1; Knowlton, "Relation of Geography to the Social Studies," H. O., XIII (1922), 154-58; Fox, "American History and the Map," Harper's Atlas of American History, 89-97; Ellwood, "Sociology and the Social Social Studies," History, 89-97; Ellwood, "Sociology and the Social Social Studies," History, 89-97; Ellwood, "Sociology and the Social Social Studies," History, 89-97; Ellwood, "Sociology and the Social Social Studies," History, 89-97; Ellwood, "Sociology and the Social Studies," History, 89-97; Ellwood, "Sociology and Hestory, 89-97; Ellwood, can History, 89-97; Ellwood, "Sociology and the Social Studies with Special Reference to History," H. O., XIV (1923), 346-50.

D. Relation of history and civics to other subjects: pre-

ceding, contemporaneous, and subsequent.

Johnson, The Teaching of History, XV; Morehouse, "Differentiation Between Junior and Senior High School History," H. O., XV (1924), 154-58; Dawson, Teaching the Social Studies, III-VI, VIII, X; Tryon et al., "Progressive Requirements in American History for Junior and Senior High Schools," School Review, XXVI (1918), 473-89; United States Bureau of Education, "Les ons in Civics for the Six Elementary Grades," Bulletin 18, 1920, 96-110; Osburn,

Are We Making Good at Teaching History? 13-24, 51-56; United States Bureau of Education, "The 51-56; United States Bureau of Education, "The Social Studies in Secondary Education," Bulletin 28, 1916, 11-14; Hill, "Teaching English with the Social Studies," School Review, XXXIII (1925), 274-79; Hill, "Opportunities for Correlation Between Community Life and English," School Review, XXX (1922), 24-36, 118-26; Snedaker, "The Correlation of Language and Social Studies in Intermediate Grades," H. O. XVIII (1927), 215-20; Hill "Educational H. O., XVIII (1927), 215-20; Hill, "Educational Economy in the Reorganization of the Social Studies," Twenty-second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, II, 111-25; Mace, Method in History (1914 ed.), 224-53.

II. COURSES OF STUDY AND CONTENT OF HISTORY AND CIVICS

A. The courses of study.

1. History and civics in the program of studies of the

ast. Johnson, The Teaching of History, V; Rugg, "How the Current Courses in History, Geography, and Civics Came to Be What They Are," Twenty-second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, II, 48-66; Dawson, "The History Inquiry," H. O., XV (1924), 239-60; Shiels, "The Social Studies in Development," Teachers' College Record, XXIII (1922), 126-45; Judd, "The Teaching of Civics," School Review, XXVI (1918), 511-32; Hill, "The New Civics: Its Evolution and Meaning," H. O., XIV (1923), 223-27; Rugg, "Curriculum-Making: Past and Present," Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, I, 46-50; Pierce, Public Opinion and the Teaching of History, I-III.

2. Reorganization: problems and plans.

teorganization: problems and plans.
Krey, "Report of Committee on History and Other
Social Studies in the Schools," H. O., XVIII
(1927), 110-22; Gambrill, "Experimental Curriculum-Making in the Social Studies," H. O., XIV
(1923), 384-406, XV (1924), 37-55; Gambrill, "Some
Tendencies and Issues in the Making of the Social
Studies Curricula," H. O., XV (1924), 84-89;
Barnes, "The Essentials of the New History,"
H. O., XVIII (1927), 201-10; Klapper, The Teaching of History, XI, XIII, XVIII; Dawson, "Why
Social Studies?" H. O., XVIII (1927), 153-57;
Stone, "Teaching the Social Studies in the Seventh Stone, "Teaching the Social Studies in the Seventh Grade," H. O., XVI (1925), 262-70; Pierce, "The Social Studies in the Eighth Grade," H. O., XVI (1925), 315-20; Hill, "The Teaching of Civics in the Junior High School With Especial Reference to Work in the Ninth Grade," H. O., XVII (1926), 7-10; Tryon, "History and the Other Social Studies in Junior and Senior High Schools—A General Survey and Criticism," H. O., XVII (1926), 217-19; Fifth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence, "The Junior High School Curriculum," 247-65; Fourth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence, "The Nation at Work on the Public School Curriculum," XIII; Woellner, Glass, et al., "History in the Junior and Senior High School," H. O., XIII (1922), 246-49; Knowlton, "Building a Course in the Social Studies for the Junior High School," H. O., XV (1924), 356-60; Knowlton, History and the Other Social Studies, I; Schafer and Johnson, "Report of Committee on History and Education for Citizenship," H. O., XII (1921), 89-97; Morehouse, "Report of Committee on History and Education for Citizenship: Syllabus for IX Grade Study of American Industries," H. O., XII (1921), 119-42; Dawson, Teaching the Social Studies, XII; Hatch, Training in Citizenship, XVIII; Hatch and Stull, "A Unit Fusion Course in the Social Studies for the Junior High School," H. O., XVII (1926), 371-74; Rugg and Counts, "A Critical Appraisal of Current

Methods of Curriculum-Making," Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, I, 425-47; Horn, "The Application of Methods of Research to Making the Course of Study in History," Twenty-second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, II, 234-59; Rugg, "A Preface to the Reconstruction II, 234-59; Rugg, "A Preface to the Reconstruction of the American School Curriculum," Teachers' College Record, XXVII (1926), 600-16; Rugg, "How Shall We Reconstruct the Social Studies Curriculum?" H. O., XII (1921), 184-89; Rugg, "Do the Social Studies Prepare Pupils Adequately for Life Activities?" Twenty-second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, II, 1-27, 260-73; Rugg, Rugg and Schweppe, "A Proposed Social Science Course for the Junior High School." Twenty-second Yearbook of the National Science Course for the School. High School," Twenty-second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, II, 185-207; McMurry, "A Critical Appraisement of Proposed Reorganizations," Twenty-second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, II, 292-304; Elli on, "A Criticism of Some Recent Trends in the Field of the Social Studies,' H. O., XVIII (1927), 210-15; McMurry, How to Organize the Curriculum, XI.

B. The content of subject-matter.

1. General organization, emphasis, and outlines. eneral organization, emphasis, and outlines. Tryon, The Teaching of History, V, XI; Johnson, The Teaching of History, VI, VII, XIV; United States Bureau of Education, "The Teaching of Community Civics," Bulletin 23, 1915, 20-50, 51-55; Tryon et al., "Progressive Requirements in American History for Junior and Senior High Schools," School Review, XXVI (1918), 473-89; Monroe and Herriot, "Objectives of United States History in Grades Seven and Eight," University of Illinois Bureau of Education Research Bulletin No. 33, 5-35, 36-68; Osburn, Are We Making Good at Teaching History? 13-18, 63-69, 71-92; Department of Education, Baltimore, "The Social Studies: or Education, Baltimore, "The Social Studies: Course of Study for Senior and Junior High Schools" (1925), 11-104, 105-98; Pierce, "The Social Studies in the Eighth Grade," H. O., XVI (1925), 323-25; Fifth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence, "The Junior High School Curriculum," 213-20; Martz and Kinneman, Social Science for Teachers, chaps. 6-8, 10-16, 18, 20-21, 1, 4, 9, 17, 19, 33-38, 41; Sisson, Educating for Freedom 9, 17, 19, 33-38, 41; Sisson, Educating for Freedom, IV-VIII; Snedden, Civic Education, IX; Pierce, Public Opinion and the Teaching of History, IV; Flanders, Legislative Control of the Elementary Curriculum, 7-63, 187-239; Schlesinger, "The Prob-lem of Teaching Recent American History," H. O., XI (1920), 352-55; Paxson, "The United States in Recent Times," H. O., XVII (1926), 265-70; Gibbons, "Contemporary XVII (1926), 315-19. "Contemporary European History," H. O.,

2. Appropriate lists of references. Department of Education, Baltimore, "The Social Studies: Course of Study for Senior and Junior High Schools" (1925), 16-23, 107-09; Hill et al., "Report of Committee on Standardizing Library Work," School Review, XXIX (1921), 135-50; Logasa, "Historical Fiction Suitable for Junior and Senior High Schools," National Council of the Social Studies Publication No. 1, 7-85; Foster (Ch.), "Books for Historical Readings in School," H. O., XV (1924), 306-13; Kimball, "A Selected Bibliography of Works Helpful in Teaching the Constitution of the United States," H. O., XVI (1925), 211-16; Silverman, "Historical Fiction and the Junior High School, with a Selected Bibliography," H. O., XVII (1926), 385-89.

C. The textbooks: analysis, evaluation, and uses.

Johnson, The Teaching of History, XI, XII; Klapper, The Teaching of History, 229-32; Maxwell, The Selec-

tion of Textbooks, I, II, VI, VII, 109-15; Hall-Quest, The Textbook, I, IV-IX; Dawson, "Textbooks in the Social Studies," H. O., XVII (1926), 334-41; Johnson, "A Checking List for the Selection of High School Text-books," *Teachers' College Record*, XXVII (1925), 104-08; Tryon, "Maps in Forty-four Textbooks in 104-08; Tryon, "Maps in Forty-four Textbooks in American History for the Junior High School Grades," School Review, XXXIII (1925), 428-43; Ayer, Some Difficulties in Elementary School History, VI; Keboch, "Variability of Word-Difficulty in Five American History Texts," Journal of Educational Research, XV (1927), 22-26; Faulkner, "Perverted American History," Harper's (1926), 337-46; Heckel, "Pure History and Patriotism," H. O., XVI (1925), 106-10; Howerth, "The Teaching of Patriotism," Educational Review (1924), 135-40; Dickson, "War Fahles Tanght in American "The Teaching of Patriotism," Educational Review (1924), 135-40; Dickson, "War Fables Taught in American Schools," Current History, XXVI (1927), 669-75; Blumenthal and Hart, "Should American History Be Hero-Worship?" Current History, XXV (1927), 792-802; Pierce, Public Opinion and the Teaching of History, VI, VII, 306-35; Adams et al., "Report on American History Textbooks Used in California," H. O., XIV (1923), 54-56; Mandel et al., "Report on History Textbooks Used in Public Schools of New York City," H. O., XIII (1922), 250-55. XIII (1922), 250-55.

III. METHODS IN HISTORY AND CIVICS TEACHING

A. Teaching pupils how to study history and civics.

Tryon, The Teaching of History, 31-42; Simpson, Supervised Study in American History, 52-57, 82-86, 177-83, 211-17, 223-27; Fifth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence, "The Junior High School Curricu-Superintendence, "The Junior High School Curricu-lum," 275-79; Gold, "Directions for Study," H. O., XVII (1926), 284-85; Burr, "Vitalizing the Teaching of History," H. O., XVII (1926), 291-93; Van Denburg, The Junior High School Idea, XIII; Thomas, Training for Effective Study, II, III, V, VI; McMurry, How to Study and Teaching How to Study, I, II, XI; Helseth, Children's Thinking, I, VI, VII.

B. The recitation: General methods of procedure: 1. Aims and management through lesson plans:

a. Place of review, recitation on assigned work, summary and assignment.

Tryon, The 1 eaching of History, 1; Wayland, How to Teach American History, XXVI, XXVIII; Simpson, Supervised Study in American History, IV.

 Written work, Tryon, The Teaching of History, 116-46; Hill, "Opportunities for Correlation Between Community Life and English," School Review, XXX (1922), 175-86; Knowlton, Making History Graphic, 120-54; Leonard, "Some Experiments in Co-operation Between History and English," H. O., XIV (1923), 180-81.

C. The recitation: Special methods of procedure:

1. Textbook method.

Tryon, The Teaching of History, 52-68; Klapper, The Teaching of History, 208-17; Stormzand, Progressive Methods of Teaching, I.

2. Lecture method.

Tryon, The Teaching of History, 48-52; Klapper, The Teaching of History, 194-97, 220-29.

3. Topical method.

Tryon, The Teaching of History, 69-76; Klapper, The Teaching of History, V; Carrier, "Topical Method in United States History," H. O., XI (1920), 313-16.

4. Problem-project method.

Tryon, The Teaching of History, 82-92; Klapper, The Teaching of History, VI; Knowlton, "The Teaching of History in the Junior High School: Setting the Problem, Lesson Planning and Problem Solving," H. O., XVI (1925), 114-17; Knowlton, History and the Other Social Studies, IV; Kilpatrick, "The Project Method," Teachers' College Record, XIX (1918), 319-35; Kilpatrick, Bagley, et al., "Dangers and Difficulties of the Project Method and How to Overcome Them—A Symposium," Teachers' College Record, XXII (1921), 283-321; Kilpatrick, "What Shall We Seek from a History Project?" H. O., XIII (1922), 215-16; McMurry, "A Project Method of Teaching History," H. O., XIV (1923), 351-54; Stormzand, Progressive Methods of Teaching, V; Wilson, "Teaching Levels, Teaching Technique and the Project," II, Journal of Educational Method, II (1923), 385-93; Hatch, "Projects in Citizenship," H. O., XIII (1922), 50-59; Hatch, Training in Citizenship, XI, XII, XV; Stone, "Teaching the Social Studies in the Seventh Grade," H. O., XVI (1925), 270-74; Black and Hegarty, "Teaching the Presidential Campaign in Junior High School," H. O., XV (1924), 302-05; Knowlton, "The Teaching of History in the Junior High School: Dramatization," H. O., XVI (1925), 222-25; Harris, "Our Traffic System—A Dramatization," H. O., XVI (1925), 228-29; Pierce, "The Social Studies in the Eighth Grade," H. O., XVI (1925), 325-28; String, "Historical Dramatization in the Grades," H. O., XVI (1926), 130-32; Welsh, "Informal Dramatization," H. O., XVII (1926), 238-41; Willard, "History Project—A Semi-Pageant," H. O., XVI (1925), 278-80; McMurry, Teaching by Projects, I, II, VI, XI-XIII; McMurry, How to Organize the Curriculum, IV, V, VIII-X; Stevenson, The Project Method of Teaching, III, IV, 205-15, 227-43.

Laboratory, or source-study, method.
 Tryon, The Teaching of History, 76-82; Wayland, How to Teach American History, XXIII, XXIV; Harden, "Use of Sources in Elementary Schools," H. O., XVII (1926), 241-43; Wilgus, "The Laboratory Method in the Teaching and Studying of History," H. O., XII (1921), 23-27; Hill, "Laboratory Work in Civics," H. O., XVI (1925), 110-13.

 Socialized recitation.

Robbins, The Socialized Recitation, I-VII; Simpson, Supervised Study in American History, 63-67, 76-82, 135-41, 146-52, 190-95, 196-98; Stormand, Progressive Methods of Teaching, 268-88; Wilson, "The Socialized Recitation," H. O., XVII (1926), 279-83; Havighurst, "A Plan for a Socialized Recitation," H. O., XII (1921), 293-95; Field, "The Civics-Senate," H. O., XV (1924), 75-77; Van Denburg, The Junior High School Idea, XV; Almack, Education for Citizenship, XI.

Supervised study.
 Tryon, The Teaching of History, 42-47; Simpson, Supervised Study in American History, 1-III, 33-52, 58-62, 108-25, 157-63, 183-88, 172-77, 228-35, 257-67, 52-57, 82-86, 177-83, 211-17, 223-27; Knowlton, History and the Other Social Studies, VI; Phillips, "The History Assignment: A Suggested Classroom Procedure," H. O., XVII (1926), 322-27; Hall-Quest, Supervised Study in the Elementary School, I, II, IV, V, XV, XVII, XVIII; Miller, Directing Study, II; Stormzand, Progressive Methods of Teaching, 111-39; Stormzand, American History Teaching and Testing, 7-23; Brucckner, "A Survey of the Use Made of the Supervised Study Period," School Review, XXXIII (1925), 333-45; Thomas, Training for Effective Study, VII.

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IV. THE USE OF MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT

A. The history and civics notebook.

Tryon, The Teaching of History, 146-53; Wayland, How to Teach American History, XXVII; Spelman, "My History Notebook," H. O., XVIII (1927), 220-22.

B. The history and civics library and collateral reading.
Johnson, The Teaching of History, XIII; Tryon, The
Teaching of History, 1X; Knowlton, History and the
Other Social Studies, 132-41; Hill et al., "Report of
Committee on Standardizing Library Work and Library
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National Council for the Social Studies Publication No.
1, 7-85; Foster (Ch.), "Books for Historical Readings
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Selected Bibliography of Works Helpful in Teaching
the Constitution of the United States," H. O., XVI
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Graded Book List, 104-29, 130-56, 157-76, 177-81;
National Education Association, Graded List of Books
for Children, 69-123; Terman and Lima, Children's
Reading—A Guide for Parents and Teachers, 161-97;
Brown, Standard Catalog for High School Libraries, I,
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Especial Reference to the Work in the Ninth Grade," H. O., XVII (1926), 12-13; Glick, "Making History Real—A Guide to Materials for Vitalizing and Visualizing History," I, H. O., XVII (1926), 382-85; II, XVIII (1927), 29-37; III, 64-82; League of Nations Non-Partisan Association Educational Publication No. 4, "International Guide to Material Descriptive of Many Lands and Places," 1-36; Kimmel, "The Use of Graphs in the Teaching of Civics," H. O., XVII (1926), 20-22; Pierce, "The Social Studies in the Eighth Grade," H. O., XVI (1925), 328-31; Forsee, "Helps for History Teachers," H. O., XV (1924), 402-05; Fox, "The Chronicles of America in Motion Pictures," H. O., XV (1924), 12-17; Mathews, The Grade Placement of Cur-(1924), 12-17; Mathews, The Grade Placement of Curriculum Materials in the Social Studies, 90-138; Bernd, "Music in the History Course," H. O., XVII (1926),

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V. MEASURING THE RESULTS OF TEACHING

A. Tests and examinations.

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B. Standardized tests and scales,

Standardized tests and scales.
Tryon, The Teaching of History, 164-75; Klapper, The Teaching of History, XVII; Stormzand, Progressive Methods of Teaching, 301-26; Tryon, "Standard and New Type Tests in the Social Studies," H. O., XVIII (1927), 172-78; Ruch et al., Objective Examination Methods in the Social Studies, 105-12; Elston, "Improving the Teaching of History Through the Use of Tests," H. O., XIV (1923), 300-05; Kepner, "An Aspect of History Testing," H. O., XV (1924), 414-16; Kepner,

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VI. THE HISTORY AND CIVICS TEACHER

Professional equipment and attitude. Professional equipment and attitude.
Tryon, The Teaching of History, 246-67, 275-84; Dawson, Teaching the Social Studies, XVI; Knowlton, History and the Other Social Studies, 189-204; Wayland, How to Teach American History, IV, XVI; Snedden, Civic Education, XIII; Hatch, Training in Citizenship, 205-10; Almack, Education for Citizenship, XVI; Sisson, Educating for Freedom, VI; Shryock, "Report of Committee on the Training of High School Teachers of the Social Studies," H. O., XVIII (1927), 226.

B. Association with school, professional, and community activities.

Almack, Education for Citizenship, XIV, XV; Dawson, "Report of Secretary of the National Council for the Social Studies, 1925," H. O., XVI (1925), 395-401.

C. The pupils' points of view.

Tryon, The Teaching of History, 267-74; Wayland, How to Teach American History, XXX; Brokaw, "The Diary of a High School Boy," H. O., XVI (1925), 80-83; Cheney, "An Ideal History Teacher," H. O., XV (1924), 395-97; W. H. W., "A School Boy's Idea of a Superior History Teacher," H. O., XV (1924), 168-70.

Pierce, "A Survey of Methods Courses in History," Historical Outlook, XII (1921), 315-18.

Dawson, "Preparation of Teachers of the Social Studies for the Secondary Schools," Historical Outlook, XIII

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Prichard, "Preparation for the Teaching of History In High Schools," HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, XIV (1923), 23-26.

Lonn, "A Course in Methods of Teaching the Social Studies in High Schools," HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, XV (1924),

⁵ Shryock, "The Training in Universities of High School Teachers of Social Studies," HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, XVII

(1926), 219-29. ⁶ With additional material, published in book form under the title *History and the Other Social Studies in the Junior*

High School. [†] HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, XIV (1923), 257-66. ⁸ "The Junior High School Curriculum," XII.

Armistice Day Program—"Lest We Forget"

BY BESS L. THOMPSON, McKINLEY HIGH SCHOOL, CANTON, OHIO

The time has come when students below college age remember little of the World War. Because she realized this fact, one of our teachers brought home from Columbia University the outlines of the pageant to be given in memory of our soldiers. Another adviser of the Social Science Club had given very successful pageants. As she had been a war worker, she was doubly glad to develop the scenes.

Due to a rush of annual school activities, we were able to get the use of the auditorium for only one rehearsal. This threatened to shatter the nerves of the stagecraft club, but the adviser in charge kept her head and by perfect tact and careful planning succeeded in inspiring the boys and girls with the deep meaning of the pageant. As a result, they were willing to work any time in any vacant room and imagine the setting!

The chairmen of the American and European history departments called their teachers together and asked them to give a few days to the study of the war in order to have an interested and informed audience. Library books and pictures were placed on reserve for reports. War souvenirs of all kinds poured into classrooms, stories told by uncles and older brothers were retold in school, pictures came out of safe-keeping, and the Social Science Club were fortunate enough to see a number of medals and decorations. Several teachers lectured and collected themes that were willingly and well written. The Seniors-more than five hundred—and the Juniors had good material in their textbooks. The Sophomores were glad to do outside reading and devoured the volumes of pictures in the library. Since many of our classical students take three years of history and pupils in other courses usually two years, practically the whole school had a creditable amount of accurate information before the pageant was presented.

As the plans developed, the co-operation of other organizations was generous. The Social Science Club was assisted by members of the American Legion, Ohio National Guard, Citizens' Military Training Camp, Stage Craft Club, and the McKinley High School orchestra. No small part of the appeal was

due to the music.

Our enrollment is between two and three thousand, a little more than the capacity of our auditorium. We wanted every boy and girl to be seated quietly, so gave the pageant twice, November 10th and 11th.

The programs were printed in our own shop. On the first page of the folder was a flag and recognition of the different organizations that assisted. On the

second sheet was the following:

Solo, "Lest We Forget."

Trench Scene.

Orchestra.

Drill by Cadet Corps, by High School members of the Ohio National Guard, and members of Citizen's Military Training Camps.

Solo, "The Requiem."

Scene in Flanders Field.

Reading, "In Flanders Field."

Address, "A Tribute to Our Dead"—Dr. Brundage, Chaplain, 139th Field Artillery, A. E. F. Solo, "When the Boys Come Marching Home." Cadet Corps presents the Colors.

The American Creed.

The Star-Spangled Banner.

On the third sheet was the poem, "Lest We Forget," the central thought of the pageant. The last sheet had the names of fifteen faculty members who had been in service. The names of the Social Science

Club officers were also on this page.

Girls in costumes of the Allied countries, Red Cross nurses, and Salvation Army girls stood at the entrances to the auditorium, each with her own flag. They gave a program to every person possible. While the orchestra played, the students thronged into the auditorium gay with the flags of the Allies. Last of all came our ex-service teachers to a row reserved for them. Then the principal announced that just at eleven the bugle would sound for a minute of silence.

Immediately thereafter, the theme was given in the singing of "Lest We Forget," by a former soldier.

Every word was clear.

The trench scene showed a sentry pacing back and forth in the gloom. Flashes of light showed weary

soldiers in worn uniforms, piling up sandbags along the trench. Artillery was heard in the distance. While the sentinel stood guard, the relief came from a dugout. Salvation Army workers appeared.

Then the scene shifted for a drill by the Cadet Corps, National Guards, and C. M. T. C. As the boys snapped into involved formations they became almost heroes to the younger members of the audi-

The scene in Flanders Fields showed rows of crosses gleaming among the poppies. Red Cross nurses appeared. One knelt by a cross as a member of the A. E. F. sang "The Requiem." Every note brought the realization of the inevitable tragedy of

As the lights faded in the background, a girl appeared, who read "In Flanders Field." hope was that all these boys and girls would hold

high the torch for the future.

As the chaplain gave his tribute to the dead he recalled scenes in far-off France, to show how great was the "last full measure of devotion." The cruelty, the sacrifice, and the glory were remembered again.

A brighter note was sounded in the singing of

When the Boys Come Home.'

We seemed to "highly resolve" to be forever true to the memory of the boys who died that ideals might live.

In the next scene, the Cadets Corps marched and drilled, as their captain gave commands. When the Colors were presented, the school stood and gave the American Creed. Then they sang the Star-Spangled Banner.

Those hundreds of boys and girls, too young to remember the agony of the World War, went out silently into the halls, tears in their eyes. The sacrifice of our soldiers for the great cause was a reality to them-and they will not forget!

DIRECTIONS FOR ARMISTICE DAY PROGRAM. Audience gathers. Bugler off stage L. sounds sharp notes. House lights out. Rumble of heavy artillery fire off stage Right. Grows fainter as curtain slowly rises.

ACT I—Stage in semi-darkness. Continued rumble of

artillery fire and flashes of light, revealing dim outline of men working in trenches. Spot follows Mr. Hanson, who

enters from L. to center.

Solo, "Lest We Forget," Kipling, by Mr. L. D. Hanson.

Spot follows him out L. Bugle sounds faintly. Lights for orchestra. Slow march by orchestra. Somewhat brighter

lights on trench (slowly out).

New line of men from dug-out L. takes places of men in trench. Stage grows gradually lighter. Music somewhat brighter. Bugle sounds again and men throw down tools and march out L. Salvation Army girls have appeared from hut and hand men coffee and doughnuts as they march out. Sentinel stands guard at L. Curtain. Chorus or orchestra selection, "When the Boys Come

Home."

Act II-Lively military march. Bright lights. Curtain rises. Cadet Corps scattered about chatting. Captain takes command. Company falls. Military Drill.

Orchestra plays. Corps marches out to music, which grows more solemn and slow as sound of marching ceases. Stage becomes almost dark. Curtain.

Bugle notes in distance.

Solo, "The Requiem."

Orchestra Selection, if necessary.

Acr III-Curtain rises slowly, revealing Poppy Field of Flanders. Medium light. Three figures, Red Cross nurses and girl representing Spirit of Pageant appear at L. They linger a moment looking at graves.

Spot follows Spirit to center front,

Reading, "In Flanders Field," by Miss Martha Maier. Speaker and Mr. Benedict in uniform appear at Right as Martha rejoins nurses.

Stage hymns somewhat brighter. Girls return Left. Address, "A Tribute to Our Dead," by Dr. B. F. Brundage. Speaker rejoins Mr. Benedict, who has remained on

stage, seated at extreme R.

Orchestra selection, same military march as in Act II for entrance of Cadet Corps.

Cadet Corps enters, brief march—presents the colors. "The Star-Spangled Banner" by the entire audience, led by Mr. Hanson, who has entered Left.

Recent Happenings in the Social Studies

BY COMMITTEE ON CURRENT INFORMATION W. G. Kimmel, Chairman

The place of pupil activities in the teaching of the social studies is often accepted by teachers without any attempt to provide a theoretical basis for the projection of activities in an integrated course of study. Edna H. Stone, in the April number of the California Quarterly of Secondary Education, contributes an article, entitled, "Significant Activities in Social Teaching," in which she presents a definite basis for activities as found in the best current pedagogical thought, a concrete description of types of objective teachthought, a concrete description of types of objective teaching aids, constructive activities, creative activities, revivifying activities, participation in organizations, and learning through excursions. The correlation of the social studies and English affords opportunities for creative activities, which are illustrated through poems, letters, and other ma-terials. The activities described have been developed in the University High School, Berkeley, California. Teachers will find many suggestions for their own work in the types of activities mentioned, as well as a sound pedagogical basis for guidance in the development of activities in the social-studies classroom.

A plea for the setting aside of the conventional program of studies in the upper grades of the elementary school and in the ninth grade is made by Charles H. Judd in "Social Studies as the Core of the Junior High School Curriculum," in the April number of the California Quarterly of Secondary Education (2163 Center Street, Berkeley, California). California):

"The thesis of this paper is that in the junior high school period there is a demand on the part of pupils for knowlgrow up. Every subject which they are to enter when they grow up. Every subject which they study should be organized to satisfy this interest and the selection of subjects should be made with a view to bringing into the junior high school the best possible materials for illustrating and instilling the idea of social co-operation."

The writer states that the content of history should be a history of civilization, not "a series of dates and a chronicle of wars," that elements of economics and sociology should focus attention on the instruments for social cooperation set up by society, that general language and mathematics should be taught in such a manner as to bring out their social values, that the arrangement of all subjects be determined by the psychological traits of the pupils at the junior high school level.

Howard C. Hill, in the May number of The Teachers' Journal and Abstract (Greeley, Colorado), presents a discussion of "Tests and Testing in the Social Studies." The writer divides tests into two kinds, exploratory and teaching tests; gives illustrations of different forms of tests, such as completion, true-false, matching, multiple-choice, and arrangement tests. Several tests in civics are de-The fact is stressed that understanding of the social studies is largely dependent upon the grasping of relationships, and that the construction of tests of understanding involves the focusing of attention upon types of relationships found in the social studies.

John J. Mahoney, in an article, entitled, "The Social Studies in the Junior High School," in the March number of American Education, points out the need for a thorough understanding of the meaning and implications of the terminology now used in current discussion concerning

the social studies at the junior high school level. writer states that a knowledge of the nature and needs of civic education is the first essential for the curriculummaker, that definite objectives must be set up and must determine the content of the curriculum, that the determination of objectives can be made only on the basis of a sociological analysis, that selection of content materials is necessary before there can be intelligent attempts to unify or integrate content materials for different fields of learning, that new courses show a tendency toward problem-solving with little place for the development of attitudes, that many of the newer courses are too heavy and as a result are likely to produce negative results. A criticism of many courses of study is made in that: (1) no statement of objectives is included, (2) the objectives "are usually expressed in high-sounding language" and are not scientifically selected, and (3) there is little relationship between the objectives and the selection of content between the objectives and the selection of content,

Floyd H. Goodier, in the February number of the Chicago Schools' Journal, describes the use of the Rugg Social Science Pamphlets in the seventh and eighth-grade classes at Chicago Heights, Ill., in an article, entitled, "The Rugg Plan of Teaching History." The writer includes a statement of underlying principles in the preparation of the materials, the favorable and unfavorable conclusions reached by teachers after using the materials for several years, and five general suggestions for the use of the Pamphlets. Pamphlets.

A discussion of pertinent problems in the social studies in the elementary school by George A. Mirick, entitled, "The Social Subjects in Grades V and VI," is published in the April number of The Elementary School Journal. The writer points out incongruities between forward-looking statements of objectives and traditional content materials found in courses of study, and emphasizes the fact that courses in geography for Grades V and VI may be de-veloped to advantage as a continuation of the work of previous grades. The outlook of pupils is the present environment. Two pressing questions are: (1) how to remove the restrictions imposed by content materials in order to meet the social objectives; (2) how to change the program of studies to afford a study of "life-problems" in place of "geographic and process problems."

Ruby A. Larson, in the April number of The University High School Journal (Berkeley, California), presents an annotated list of books, entitled, "Books That Make History Live." The list "is the outgrowth of an attempt in the low seven class of University High School to carry on an interrelation of English and social studies through a common reading program." The list covers 35 pages, and includes books covering the period from the discovery of America through the Revolutionary War. Only books read and enjoyed by the pupils are included. Teachers of the social studies at the junior high school level will find the list useful in purchasing books for school libraries.

Walter S. Monroe and M. E. Herriott, in Objectives of United States History in Grades Seven and Eight (Bulletin No. 33, Bureau of Educational Research, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.), present the results obtained in a questionnaire study, based on replies from 226 teachers in two counties in Illinois. The teachers were asked to contribute lists of 20 to 25 important dates, 30 to 50 important personages, 15 to 25 miscellaneous facts which pupils should know, and 15 thought questions. The body of the report includes a presentation of the results. The appendix contains a list of 673 thought questions grouped by topics.

Teachers of the social studies who are interested in curriculum-making may wish to consult M. E. Herriott's How to Make Courses of Study in the Social Studies (Educational Research Circular No. 46, Bureau of Educational Research, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.). The body of the circular includes a discussion of tendencies in the social studies, the function and plan of courses of study, and the content of courses. The tendencies discussed include:

"(1) a shift in emphasis from certain types of outcomes to other types, (2) changes in methods of determining out-comes, desirable pupil experiences, and directive procedures, and (3) changes in pupil experiences, and stimulative and directive procedures."

The author includes a selected and annotated bibliog-

Illustrative materials are always welcomed by socialstudies teachers. A new form of pictorial presentation has been assembled by the Interstate News Service, 138-140 West Seventeenth Street, New York City, entitled, I. N. S. History Cards: Pictorial History of the U. S. The set of 120 cards, which cover the entire period of United States History, is divided into four series of 30 cards. Each card, size 31/2 x 43/4 inches, contains a reproduction of a famous painting, a photograph, a map, or an imaginary reproduction, with one or more insets; the reverse side of each card contains a title, a brief description of each picture, and two questions. The cards are suitable for mounting, for use in notebooks, etc. The price is 30 cents for each series of 30 cards.

Despite current emphasis on valid objectives in the teaching of the social studies, evidence is accumulating to show that the objectives do not seem to be actually attained in current practice. Robert Frederick, in the April 2, 1927, number of School and Society, presents some results of "An Investigation Into Some Social Attitudes of High School Pupils":

"This study was an attempt to discover in part the attitudes and knowledge of our American high-school students with regard to international and inter-racial affairs. It aims to determine the character of the social consciousness of high-school students."

More specifically, the writer used a combination truefalse test of 21 items, combined with certain questions to elicit personal information concerning intelligent patriotism, race-prejudice, range of reading and specific informa-tion on international affairs and attitudes on international co-operation.

The data were supplied by 1,166 pupils enrolled in seven representative high schools in five states: Ohio, West Virginia, Connecticut, Nebraska, and Oregon. The results, some of which are included here, speak for themselves: (1) 59 per cent, of the pupils believed that the United States has never mistreated the people of any race or nation; (2) 59 per cent, felt that no patriotic American would admit that any other nation was superior to the United States in any important respect; (3) 57 per cent. thought that the American people have a higher regard for law and order than any other people; (4) 62 per cent, believed the Japanese are treacherous and deceitful; (5) 54 per cent, said that the Russians are an inferior people; (6) practically none of the pupils did any reading on international affairs; (7) 40 per cent. said that the offices of the League of Nations are located in France; (8) 64 per cent. mentioned the Ku Klux Klan as an organization working for world peace; (9) 58 per cent. said that the United States should have the largest and most powerful army and navy in the world; (10) 38 per cent, believed that nations must learn to co-operate.

A description of the plan of directed study in history classes in the Mayville, North Dakota, State Teachers' College, by Elmer Ellis, is included in the December, 1926, number of State Teachers' College Bulletin (Mayville, North Dakota). The plan includes: the division of the course into units of minimum essentials, an introduction to, or overview of, each unit by the teacher, the use of mimeographed job-sheets, directed study under the guidance of the teacher, and supplementary exercises of the problem-solving type. Two periods during each week are devoted to activities other than directed study, including floor-talks discussion of results on supplementary exercises and talks, discussion of results on supplementary exercises, and consideration of the unit as a whole. The writer evaluates the plan and lists a number of advantages and disad-

Teachers in junior high schools will be interested in Charles C. Scheck and M. Althea Orton's Directed History Study: Book Three (World Book Co., 1927). The volume covers the period from the Revolutionary War to the present time. The general plan of organization is based on a series of problems, each of which is followed by an assignment, a list of references to textbooks, word studies, questions to be answered, an extra assignment to supplementary books, one or more tests, important dates, and a list of books to read. Guidance outlines, reviews to be filled in by pupils, tables to be completed, outline maps, music in the form of phonograph records, and visual aids are some of the additional features of the volume. The format is the same as that of Book Two, published in an experimental edition last year. A revised edition of Book Two is now available.

Notes on Periodical Literature

BY GERTRUDE BRAMLETTE RICHARDS, PH.D.

The current number of the North American Review has an article on "China and the Foreign Devils," by Stephen Bonsal, who takes the occasion to point out that while the troubles of the Western world in China are mainly economic and result from a failure to regulate with anything like fairness the colonial trade that has grown up in the last decades, yet "China is passing through a radical national transformation and the outcome in the near or remote future depends largely on the policy that outside and invading nations adopt towards an unfortunate people in this astute crisis in their affairs." Many details as to what this policy should or should not include follow.

"The question of how this country should deal with the Philippine Islands is a question for the people of the two countries to decide. So far as the United States is concerned it is a question for Congress, and Congress, by the Jones Bills, fixed the policy of this country. It is not within the constitutional power of the President to change this policy, but he makes it clear he does not propose to carry it out....He is afraid the Filipinos would vote almost unanimously for independence and that such an expression of their desire would be respected by the people of this country....But he is not in sympathy with this feeling. In a word, the President undertakes to determine the future relations of some twelve million Filipinos and more than one hundred million Americans without consulting either the people or their representatives. The result may well be an Ireland of our own, ten thousand miles from our shores," says Moorfield Storey, writing on "The Philippines as an American Ireland."

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Book Reviews

Edited by Professor Harry J. Carman, Columbia University

General Social Science. By Ross L. Finney (Assistant Professor of Educational Sociology, University of Minnesota). The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926. xx, 459 pp.

The New Social Civics. By E. D. Phillips (Head of Department of Psychology, University of Denver), in collaboration with Jesse H. Newlon (Superintendent of Schools, Denver, Colorado). Rand McNally & Company. Chicago, 1926. ix, 536 pp.

Schools, Denver, Colorado). Rand McNally & Company, Chicago, 1926. ix, 536 pp.

The Story of Human Progress. An Introduction to Social Studies. By Leon C. Marshall (Professor of Political Economy, The University of Chicago). The Macmillan Company, New York, 1925. xvi, 548 pp.

In the present chaotic condition of social science courses there are clearly discernible tendencies to offer in the ninth and tenth grades courses that will introduce the child to the complex society in which we live, one such course making the approach through history—a one-year survey of world history, showing how our present civilization de-veloped—the other, a general social science course, describing and explaining the chief features of our present social, economic, and political life and institutions. The books here reviewed were written for the latter course. value of such a course is apparent to any who realize how few citizens carry their education for enough to study the science of society in higher institutions; its practicability for secondary schools is descentiations. for secondary schools is demonstrated by such texts. Professor Finney comments well thus, "And to suppose that we should, or can, withhold this material from children until they are mature is no less absurd than Rousseau's theory that children should be kept in social isolation until they are fifteen. The supposed difficulty of this basic material is an illusion arising from its historic recency. until we of the older generation had become adults did it come to most of us, and then we experienced the painful necessity of making mental room for it by first clearing our minds of the antiquated material that we had been taught in childhood. And that is why it seems difficult to us.

There is as yet much difference of opinion as to the contents of this course, each writer naturally emphasizing those elements of society that lie in his particular field, and there is considerable overlapping with the material of the twelfth-year course offered in several states under some such title as "Problems of American Democracy." A comparison of the contents of these three books shows both the value of the course and the differences in material and

There are eighty short chapters of four to seven pages each in General Social Science. The first nineteen deal chiefly with the individual, explaining why he acts as he does and is a member of society; they include such subjects as instincts, desires, habits and custom, thinking, "what youth is for," heredity and environment. Group action and problems are next taken up: family, play, the community. Strung on a very thin thread of group interest there follow a variety of more or less unrelated topics: "Public Service Utilities," morality, occupations, "does education pay?" "the human side of industry." Chapter XLVII introduces the Industrial Revolution; chapter LII a more formal study of economics—production, distribution, consumption. Five chapters on "rural economics" follow, then five on local, state, and national government, and the book concludes with the problem of wars and "the better world that is to be."

The New Social Civics has fewer and longer chapters, but finds it equally difficult to offer a clearly discernible organization of contents. It begins, as does Professor Finney's book, with a presentation of instincts, desires, customs, etc., that help us understand social behavior. After three chapters dealing with health, that for some unknown reason are inserted here, this question of living together is

given in more detail: "Factors That Lead to Social Activity," "The Value of Right Living," "How Society Is Bound Together," "How Changes are Produced in Society," "The Individual and His Life Work." Chapters on law and government follow, including the topics, "Education and Democracy" and "Newspapers and Periodicals in a Democracy." After a discussion of "Crime and Punishment" there are three chapters on economic matters. Concluding chapters deal with problems of poverty and immigration, with "Human Conservation," "The Spiritual Life of the Community," "Looking Forward and Backward."

The Story of Human Progress is the only one of the three that attempts to present a clear and simple organization of material. Man in society is "Harnesser of Nature," "Communicator," "Teamworker," or "Social Organizer," "Idealist and Aspirer," and the progress of civilization is man's progress in each of these fields. Two introductory chapters offer interesting descriptions of the life of Neanderthal Man and of the Iroquois Indians, each showing the progress or lack of progress in the four aspects of man that the book deals with. Under the topic, "Man the Harnesser," the conquest of fire and of metals is described, and in more recent times the great advance in science, "man's greatest tool," the chief features of our present machine age, and what this harnessing of nature has contributed to "living together well." Under "Man the Communicator" is presented the development of language, the conquest of distance in earlier and present times, communication through trade and commerce, and "passing on the torch" by family, school, church. "Man the Teamworker" is a useful heading for the following chapters: "The Co-operation of Specialists," "Finding Our Places and Pulling the Load," "Social Control: Custom, Law, Public Opinion, and the Sense of Divine Approval," "Social Control: the Nation and Government," "Social Organization and Living Together Well." The concluding chapter is "Ideals, the Guides to Living Together Well."

The aims of the three texts are similar: to help the pupil understand some of the essential features of our complex society, to help him find his place in it, and to stimulate him to play his part well. Many of the evils and problems of the times are presented, but the tone is moderate and optimistic. There is much appeal to the idealism of youth.

optimistic. There is much appeal to the idealism of youth. All abound in helps to teacher and student, Problem questions of a practical nature follow each chapter. Finney includes references to books of fiction and other literature, as well as to more serious works, Phillips-Newlon contains lists of more advanced books for teachers, Marshall is contented with references to his "Readings in the Story of Human Progress," a volume prepared to supplement the text. All are illustrated, Marshall abounding in drawings that may lack artistic merit, but certainly aid in understanding and interest. Marshall is admirable in the use of devices to make clear the way: each of the main divisions into which the text is divided is introduced by a page explanation of its purpose, each chapter is divided into topics and preceded by "questions to keep in mind while reading this chapter," while the concluding paragraph of the chapter either summarizes or forces the student to review the ground covered.

The three make frequent use of story and cases to add definiteness and interest, Marshall excelling. Finney has the widest range of material and introduces the student to more new concepts in psychology, sociology, and economics, if one may use these serious words for an elementary book; Phillips-Newlon especially seeks to cultivate attitudes of tolerance, sympathy, and service, even becoming at times preachy; Marshall best organizes the contents of the course and is clearer and more interesting in presenting the

Many school administrators and teachers are coming to feel that the more usual Community Civics course, while a great improvement over the older and more formal Civics, presents too narrow a phase of the citizen's life in society. The more recent Community Civics texts tacitly admit this by including much material dealing with social and economic matters. Those who believe that training for citizenship means education for membership in society will welcome such texts as these.

ROBERT I. ADRIANCE.

East Orange High School, East Orange, N. J.

James Kirke Paulding, Versatile American. By Amos L. Herold. Columbia University Press, New York, 1926.

167 pp. In a slender volume, Dr. Herold discloses a conspicuous New York City literary figure of the early nineteenth century, who has been wrapped by posterity in the winding-sheet of oblivion. Aside from close students of American history and literature the present generation knows little, if anything, about James Kirke Paulding or about his work. Despite subsequent obscurity, Paulding as a man attained a prominence which brought to him the secretaryship of the Navy during Van Buren's administration; and of his writings, the usually trenchant pen of Edgar Allen Poe remarked that his "forcible, rich, vivid, and comprehensive English might advantageously be held up as a model for the young writers of the land." Poe also said about Pauldthe young writers of the land." Poe also said about Paulding: "There is no better literary manner than the manner of Mr. Paulding. Certainly no American, and possibly no living writer of England, has more of those numerous peculiaries which go to the formation of a happy style."

Dr. Herold in his preface expresses a desire to tell not only the story of Paulding's life and varied writings, "but also, in some measure, to restore the circumstances, political social and literary in which he lived and worked."

After the introductory chapters, descriptive of Paulding's youth, the author adheres but loosely to his announced intention, since from that point the biography resembles an exhaustive critical bibliography, splashed with daubs of background which give to the whole picture a splotchy character rather than one of unified impressionism. Excellent, though, is the analysis of the forgotten writer's works. With placid clearness, from evidently painstaking researches, issue lucid judgments of a prolific author, whose versatility produced short stories, plays, novels, poems, essays, reviews, biographies, and polemical tracts during his long life from 1778 to 1860. Dr. Herold ascribes Paulding follows to achieve lusting recognition to the peculiar ing's failure to achieve lasting recognition to the peculiar international copyright situation which tended to exalt English authors in the eyes of American readers at the time; to the fondness of contemporary Americans for im-moderate sentimentalism, and to the absence of a later fortuitous glamour.

SAMUEL MCKEE.

Columbia University.

The Third British Empire. By Alfred Zimmern. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York, 1926. 148 pp.

The five lectures which compose this volume were delivered at Columbia University in January, 1925, under the auspices of the Julius Beer Foundation. The informal and intimate manner of the lecture has been retained, but new material on recent developments has been added. There are appendices to all but one lecture—extracts from speeches, reports, and diplomatic documents.

This "Third British Empire" of the post-war period, frequently alluded to as "The British Commonwealth of Nais composed of dominions and states which possess a much larger measure of equality and independence than did the component parts of the pre-war empire. So far has the process of constitutional disintegration gone that the Empire can no longer be regarded as a sovereign state, nor even a loose confederacy, but only "a British Entente,' made up of states with almost complete power, not only over their domestic affairs, but with separate diplomatic representation and with the separate right to make war or to refuse to make war. The ties which bind this strange collection of states together are, then, not constitutional,

nor organic, and yet they are political ties, "a common political tradition, common political institutions, and a common outlook on public affairs" (p. 73).

But Professor Zimmern is not more interested in defining the constitution of the British Commonwealth of Nations than in relating this British Entente to the perplexing world problems of the post-war period. He recognizes frankly the dilemma of western civilization, and sees only two alternatives—"international co-operation," or "the bankruptcy of civilization" (p. 51). Naturally, he is an enthusiastic advocate of the League of Nations, which he believes to rest fundamentally upon the support of the British Commonwealth, without which it could not hope to perform its mission.

The author sees three outstanding causes for war todayproblems of race, of economics, and of nationality. It is his belief that the British Commonwealth of Nations may

do much toward finding a solution of each of the three problems. He attacks the theory of innate racial superiority, and glorifies the British conception of citizenship, which is granted regardless of race or color. He states and analyzes the race problem admirably, but makes no real answer to the difficulties raised. He advocates as a practical policy the so-called principle of reciprocity—that each dominion may follow any immigration policy it chooses—a principle which would seem to lead to further racial hatred or further imperial disintegration. In respect to the economic problem, he urges what he calls "economic disarmament," and a world economic conference to break down economic barriers. He calls upon Britain to lead the world in this movement, and yet admits that all postwar developments in the Empire have been in the opposite direction of tariffs and of economic self-sufficiency. He maintains that the prevalent conception of the nation-state is the third fundamental cause for war, and sees in the British political union of several nationalities—of English, Scotch, and Welsh, of French and English in Canada, of English and Dutch in South Africa—a much more hopeful organization from the point of view of world peace. He urges that nationality should be spiritual or cultural rather than political, that the political and national fields should be best distinct. Thus Scotch patienality is very rather than pointean, that the pointean and national needs should be kept distinct. Thus, Scotch nationality is very real and permanent, and yet not at all political, and hence not at all dangerous. So far so good, but has Professor Zimmern gone to the root of the problem? Can cultural autonomy within a state settle the difficulty? Is there not a real British nationality, apart from and beyond a separate English, Scotch, and Welsh nationality, and is not this British nationality potentially just as great a menace to world peace as the French nationality?

The lectures are most suggestive and stimulating, and Professor Zimmern is to be praised for a high idealism which would seek to maintain the British Commonwealth of Nations intact, and to make it one of the chief instruments toward world peace. But is he not too optimistic? Is there any real reason to believe that the conflicting interests of the dominions, which he admits, may not become so great as to disrupt even the Entente? And is the British Commonwealth of Nations really acting in the interests of world peace? Are not its present world policies just as full of explosives as those of the United States or France? JOHN G. GAZLEY.

Dartmouth College.

Trebizond: The Last Greek Empire. By William Miller. S. P. C. K. London, 1926. 140 pp.

A History of the Pharaohs. Volume II. The Twelfth to the Eightenth Dynasties. By Arthur Weigall. E. P.

Dutton and Company, New York, 1927. xv, 424 pp. For a long time students of Medieval History have felt the need of a competent and scholarly history of the Empire of Trebizond. This volume admirably meets this need. In scarcely over one hundred pages the author has reconstructed from all too scanty and broken sources a coherent picture of this romantic empire, about which so little has been known. The history of the empire is described in

relation to its background, foundation, civilization, and

decline. So interesting is the story of this mysterious

Greek state that one wishes to hear in more detail of its princesses famed for their beauty, its hills rich in vines and forests, its walls impregnable to constant attacks, its civilization composed of native, Greek, and Christian elements interwoven and mixed in most curious patterns. one feels certain that Professor Miller has done all that his sources and historical method would permit and this he has done well.

The book includes a list of emperors, extended bibliogra-

phy, and an index, but lacks an adequate map.

The second volume of Mr. Weigall's history of Egypt covers the reigns of the Pharaohs from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenemhet I through Thutmose III). It is quite similar in conception and execution to the first volume. There is the same appeal to both specialist and general reader, the same insertion of well-chosen translations of source materials, the same endless discussion of chronological difficulties, the same technical treatment of archaeological evidence. Much further evidence is given archaeological evidence. Much further evidence is given in support of his theory that the regnal and calendar years coincide because the second year of a reign begins the first new calendar year in that reign. The treatment of the early Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty is particularly interesting.

he reader inevitably feels the same impression felt after reading the first volume—that while Mr. Weigall has undoubtedly written a very interesting book for specialists, doubtedly written a very interesting book for specialists, he has only written a book for the general reader to peruse rather than to read thoroughly. The book includes tables, excellent illustrations, and an index, but no maps or bibliography. The volume is recommended for purchase by college and university libraries.

IRVING W. RAYMOND.

Columbia University.

Pinckney's Treaty: A Study of America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800. By Samuel Flagg Bemis, Ph.D. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1926. xii, 421 pp., maps, appendix.

This volume belongs to the series of Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History and is a worthy companion to the works of Cox, Reeves, Updyke, Adams, and others. It has the attractive format that characterizes the series. It also has the distinction of having been awarded the

Pulitzer prize for 1926.

Most texts on American history emphasize the unsatisfactory condition of our relations with England during Washington's administrations and explain the questions of debts, maritime rights, Indian control, and the posts. These points have been well known and fully recognized. It has been far otherwise with the contemporary Spanish relations. Most texts introduce a sentence or two about the Mississippi River and mention Pinckney and pass on to better known topics. Only special students have recognized the issues and their importance. Thanks to Professor Bemis's new book, it is improbable that future texts will ignore Pinckney's Treaty.

This volume naturally recalls the author's work on Jay's

Treaty, and the two books have a similarity of subject, structure, and method. In fact, the problems which gave rise to the two treaties are not dissimilar. England and Spain held forts within the United States; they followed a similar method of dealing with the Indians; and each pursued an economic policy injurious to American trade. In the case of England we humbly accepted an unsatisfactory treaty; whereas circumstances enabled us to wring from Spain a treaty which, as Professor Bemis graphically shows, started the series of events which led to that nation's colonial

downfall.

Perhaps the best procedure in considering Pinckney's Treaty is one that would show how the questions of boundary and the navigation of the Mississippi arose; it would then trace the early negotiations, bringing out in sharp contrast the respective claims, with sufficient attention to the chief actors to make them real; the opposing and disturbing elements, the Indians, Wilkinson and other plotters, Spanish and American, would be introduced and their counteracting forces estimated; and lastly the effect

of Jay's Treaty, the work of Short at Madrid, and the crowning achievement of the grandiloquent Pinckney would round out the survey. This is essentially the author's method, and his success of organization is equalled by his style, which now and then sparkles with apt characteriza-tions and happy comparisons. Examples: "Jefferson's in-terpretation of our Mississippi claims was much looser than his construction of the constitution of the United States!" (p. 172), and the use of Jefferson's phrase, "patience and persuasion," as the subject for a chapter. The characters are introduced with a few definite facts about their careers, and the subsequent treatment results in rounding out their personality. One likes the persevering Short and wishes that his name had been associated with the treaty. The major characters take on reality and can never

again be merely names on a printed page.

The appendix contains the text of the treaty and a bibliographical note which indicates, as do the notes, that the book was written largely from sources, much of it from the Spanish archives at Madrid. The use of these sources places much of the book almost beyond criticism, for exceedingly few students have gone over anything like the same ground. The five maps are a noteworthy and commendable feature which add to the attractiveness as well

as the usefulness of the book.

The sub-title, "A Study of America's Advantage from Europe's Distress," is perhaps open to question. The author shows that Godoy signed the treaty under the mistaken notion that Jay's Treaty cemented or foreshadowed an alliance between the contracting parties. It was a crude diplomatic blunder, for which the minister deserved ridi-cule, but where was the "distress" of Spain which enabled the United States to secure the favorable treaty? isted mostly in the panicky brain of the Prince of Peace. The general condition of Europe doubtless was a determining factor, but the author's account of details goes far toward destroying the appropriateness of the sub-title.

A few points concerning minor facts might also be raised. The author assumes that "war naturally" (p. 4) cancels all treaties. This is a doubtful assumption. The four The author assumes that "war naturally" (p. 4) cancels all treaties. This is a doubtful assumption. The four states, Tennessee, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia, cannot be said to form a "junction" (p. 118). The account of Clark's "raid of frontiersmen" (p. 133) implies that the author did not know that Clark was stationed at Vincennes. There is some authority (Butler, History of Kentucky, 151-154) for saying that Clark had a legal right to appropriate goods. The elegent condemnation of James White 151-154) for saying that Clark had a legal right to appropriate goods. The eloquent condemnation of James White (p. 159) for securing expense money from Gardoqui and also from the United States for his services in Indian affairs is probably just, but White had resigned his office some three months before, on January 22, 1788 (Journals of Cong., IV, 807), although he was at the time a member of Congress.

The style is occasionally marred by the omission of the article, and there are a few instances of involved and awkward structure (pp. 3-4, 169, 282). One cannot say "he replied" in answer to one's own letter (p. 23). Errors of punctuation, grammar, or typography occur on pages 7, 16, 19, 50, 78, 112, 157, 160, 212, 300, 361, though many are of minor importance and several are clearly the loss of a letter in printing. The index is year, for from computer letter in printing. The index is very far from complete. Carlos III (p. 1) becomes Charles III (p. 81), and the references to His Catholic Majesty on pages 27, 28, 33, 105, 189, 192, 290, and in the treaty are not included in the index. Other noticeable omissions occur.

It may be added by way of confession that the excellence of the book drove the reviewer to hunt for errors of detail.

EDGAR B. WESLEY.

University City High School, University City, Mo.

The Modern Development of City Government in the United Kingdom and the United States. By Ernest S. Griffith. The Oxford University Press, London and New York, 1927. Two volumes, 745 pp.

In these two excellent volumes the author, an American Rhodes scholar, now teaching in Liverpool, has accomplished two difficult and important tasks. Volume I is

devoted to municipal institutions in the two countries principally since 1800. There are six chapters devoted alternately to American and English municipal progress. author has drawn his material from a vast mass of local and special studies. The only weak portion of this volume is the third chapter on American cities dealing with the period 1900 to 1924. This seems sketchy and hurried. In places it ceases to be prose and becomes mere jotting of events or developments. The author has been in England for the last four or five years and has doubtless been out of touch with some of the more recent movements in the States. Throughout this historical treatment careful note is made of the comparison between English and American institutions. Indeed, the book is one of the best studies in comparative government that the reviewer knows.

Volume II, slightly smaller in size than the preceding volume, is devoted to a functional treatment under such topics as the legal basis, the functions, the framework, the finances, the popular control of city government. As the author's footnotes indicate, this involves considerable backauthor's footnotes indicate, this involves considerable back-tracking over material presented in Volume I, but in some respects this is the most satisfying part of the work, for here the author brings the two togeder in a penetrating analysis of the merits and shortcomings of each. This second volume also contains an appendix of 100 pages of bibliography, statistical tables, and other source material. Most of these tables are either English or comparative. Many of them, as, for example, the author's material on the composition city councils and his graphic presentations, are distinctly original contributions. are distinctly original contributions.

The work is amply buttressed with footnotes. At times the reviewer feels that these have been allowed to trespass too much upon the body of the text. The first volume seems to average about four footnotes to the page, in many in-stances consuming half the space.

Some of the more striking comparisons between American and British municipal progress are worth noting. British taxation, the author points out, is fundamentally grounded upon benefit and upon use of property, which unfortunately leads to the very unsatisfactory "rate-payer American taxation has come to be based psychology.' upon the social benefit theory, the taxation being upon the The author notes the effect of this in encouraging the use of the land and natural resources, where the English system discourages it. As to functions, the British have emphasized health, where the Americans have emphasized education. The author suggests that a satisfactory sized education. The author suggests that a satisfactory popular attitude towards health is most surely attained by a sound system of popular education. The English attitude towards popular education has been confused with religious and charitable notions and has aimed at status rather than citizenship. As to administrative areas, the American tendency has been to regard the municipality as a unit, while the British has been to create new authorities with new boundaries and taxing power. The result of the British system has been "a chaos of authorities, a chaos of rates, and a chaos worse than all of areas." In one significant and fundamental respect the author finds the American system weak. To quote: "The British cities have suffered from privilege; the American cities from corruption; the lesson of America to Britain is equality of opportunity; of Britain to America the spirit of public service." On the other hand, the author notes that the English landed and social aristocracy have never stooped to the methods of the American public utility magnates or contractors. The author is perhaps weakest when he treats of the American "spoilsman's" control of our cities; he fumes rather impotently, but may perhaps be forgiven when we remember that writers far more intimately familiar with our politics than he have tried to put salt on the tail of that dragon with no greater success. From what has been said it must be apparent that the author has not only done an extensive and excellent piece of work, but he has approached it with a penetration and evenness of judgment that renders his book distinctively exceptional.

JOSEPH D. McGOLDRICK.

Francisco de Ibarra and Nueva Vizcaya. By J. Lloyd Mecham. Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., 1927. Pp. ix, 265.

Antonio de Mendoza. First Viceroy of New Spain. By Arthur Scott Aiton. Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., 1927. Pp. xli, 240.

Chile and Its Relations with the United States. By Henry Clay Evans. Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., 1927. Pp. x, 243.

These three interesting volumes constitute a valuable addition to our growing historical literature of Latin America.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century the northviscaya. It was mainly settled and organized under the aegis of Francesco de Ibarra (1539?-1575), its first governor. It was a region of numerous silver mines and heterogeneous sedentary Indian tribes.

The story of this region has never been fully treated in English, so that Professor Meacham's work is very welcome to the student of Mexican history. The book was originally compiled as a doctorate thesis at the University of California, under the guidance of Professor H. E. Bolton, and fits into his scheme of portraying the history of the northern frontier of Mexico in the colonial period. The material has been gathered from manuscript sources found in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville.

There are in all nine chapters, a bibliography, an index. and two maps. Chapter I treats of Nueva Vizcaya geographically and ethnologically, with a few words as to Ibarra's early life. Chapter II unfolds the story of conquests in and through Nueva Galicia, the neighboring province on the south. Chapter III traces the activities of Ibarra in extending the frontiers northward from 1534-62. Chapter IV portrays Ibarra as "Governor and Captain General" founding Nueva Vizcaya (1562-3). Chapters V, VI, and VII show the progress of conquest and consolidation of the region and the resultant conflicts between Ibarra and the audiencia of Nueva Galicia. Chapter VIII. VIII summarizes the economic life of the Province, while Chapter IX ("Conclusion") depicts the last days of Ibarra, surveys and evaluates his work, and glances briefly into the future.

The Bibliography (pp. 240-50) shows a wide knowledge of the sources. The Index (pp. 251-65), while not entirely complete, is satisfactory. The two maps of "The northern frontier, 1542-62" and "The Entradas of Francesco de Ibarra (1563-1575)," are very useful.

Taken as a whole the work constitutes an excellent biography of the central figure, Ibarra, and presents an authoritative cross-sectional view of the Northwestern frontier of new Spain in the later sixtempth century.

frontier of new Spain in the later sixteenth century.

Professor Aiton's volume is the story of the institutional history of New Spain (Mexico), as seen in the life of its first viceroy, Mendoza (1490-1552). It fell to his lot to extend and complete the work begun by Cortés. But despite the great importance of his task no adequate study of his life exists in any language.

Like Professor Meacham's volume, the manuscript for this work was originally written in partial fulfillment for the doctorate degree at the University of California, where Professor H. E. Bolton has inspired so many individuals. The materials have been gathered from widely scattered areas, noticeably the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, the Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris, and libraries in this country.

The story begins with a sketch of the early life of Mendoza (Biographical Foreword), shows the steps leading up to the establishment of the viceroy and Mendoza's appointment (chapter I), describes his political and financial administration (chapters II and III), the social and economic life of the period (chapter IV), explorations and conquests engaged in (chapter V), the contest with the natives and the attempt to discredit his rule (chapter VI), and finally his last years (chapter VII). A conclusion summarizes and evaluates the work of Mendoza. The bibliography (pp. 196-221) will be found extremely helpful to students of the Viceroyalty. An index of eighteen pages

adds much to the value of the volume. There are two illustrations and one map.

Such a work as this has long been needed, anrd not until there are produced other equally interesting and scholarly lives of the great viceroys will it be possible to see Spanish

colonial history in its true perspective.

A series of volumes such as Professor Evans's is much needed to show the relations of the United States with the several Hispanic-American countries. The book is written in an interesting and concise manner and does credit to the scholarship of the younger historians. However, the treatment is primarily confined to the stereotyped official relations of the United States and Chile and does not depart far in many instances from the beaten path in order to explore the informal connections. This is quite noticeable in Chapter II, where no attempt is made to point out the services of United States seamen and officers in the Navy of Chile and the actual participation of United States citizens in the armies of Chile.

The book is divided into thirteen chapters, as follows:

I. The End of a Colony [before 1800].

I. The Beginnings of a Nation [ca. 1800-1824].

I. Early Dealings with the Northern Republic Early Deal [1823-30]. 111.

The Conservatives in Charge [1830-35].
Facing Toward Europe [ca. 1830-ca. 1860].
Disregarding the United States [middle of nine-VI. teenth century].

and VII. European Menaces American Sentiment [Decade of the Sixties].
The Emergence of Tacna-Arica [ca. 1866-1883].

Liberalism to the Fore [before 1891].
At Loggerheads with the Colossus [1891].

International Makeweights [1891-1914]. Neutrality Abroad and Differences at Home [1914 XII. to date], and

The Great Question of South America for all South XIII. America [Tacna-Arica controversy to the end of

The fact that the bibliography (pp. 221-34) is gratifyingly helpful makes the omission of several important monographs very noticeable. The index (pp. 234-43) is disappointingly scant. Typographical errors are noticed on pages ix and 55. The statement on page 185 regarding the Pan-American Union should be explained and corrected.

But aside from such minor criticisms the work is extremely useful and should be placed on the reading lists for all courses in American Diplomacy and Hispanic-

American Relations.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

University of South Carolina.

Book Notes

Within the last few months the Vanguard Press, Inc., has published four little volumes which merit the attention of every person interested in understanding and evaluating the civilization of the United States. The first of these, Negro Labor in the United States (xiii, 343 pp.), by Charles H. Wesley, professor of History in Howard University, presents a somewhat detailed survey of the development and transition of negro labor in this country. The first five chapters, approximately half the volume, are devoted to pre-Civil War days and to the period of reconstruction, while the remaining five deal with the place of the negro in modern industry. As might be expected, the author concludes that the position of the negro in the field of labor would be immeasurably advanced by education, co-operation, organization, and racial self-help. The volume explodes once and for all the myth that the negro is unfitted for skilled labor. A useful bibliography is appended.

The War Myth in United States History (93 pp.), by C. H. Hamlin, presents in brief form a number of facts to prove that the major wars in which the United States has engaged, and for which over 90 per cent, of our national

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- B. The plan was not accepted by the colonies because of the fear that they would be desprived of their power.

 C. The English government also opposed this plan for fear that the union might foster a movement for independence.
- V. The Stamp Act Congress (1765)
 A. This Congress met in New York to consider the emergency brought about by the Stamp Act.
 I. The delegates of line colonies sent petitions to the king and both Houses of Parliament, objecting to taxation without representation.
 The petition of the Stamp Act Congress, coupled with the fear of complete loss of American trade, caused the English government to repeal the Stamp Act.
- nittees of Correspondence (1772-3).—These helped to a the colonists informed of the events in each colony. keep the colonists informed of the evenus in sections of the colonists informed a great part in this work.
- VII. The First Continental Congress (1774)
 A. This Congress met in Philadelphia after the passage of the Five Intolerable Acts. (See page 19.)
 B. The Congress expressed its sympathy for Boston, formed an American association to beyoott English goods, and decided to meet the following May unless the repressive

- pealed.

 B. This Congress had to exercise all the functions of a
- This Congress had to exercise all the fur legislature. It—

 1. Appointed Washington commander-in-chi
 2. Raised money for the conduct of the war.
 2. Fassed the Declaration of Independence.
 4. Drew up the Articles of Confederation.

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No person who loves good literature and who at the same time desires a more intimate acquaintanceship with the United States at the opening of the twentieth century should fail to read the first volume of Mark Sullivan's Our Times. The United States, 1900-1925 (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York and London, 1926. xviii, 610 pp.), entitled, The Turn of the Century, 1900-1904. In the opening paragraph of the first chapter the author tells us that it is his purpose to follow an average American through the first twenty-five years of this century and "to recreate the flow of the days as he saw them to picture events in terms of their influence on him, his daily life and ultimate destiny." And again he tells us that his aim is "to appraise the actors of history and their activities according to the way they affected the average man, the way he felt about them, the ways he was influenced by his leaders and in which he influenced them." Ignoring most of the tenets that govern the academic historian, Mr. Sullivan has in fullest measure achieved his purpose. Almost nothing that would interest the average man is neglected: Dewey, the Klondike, the Bicycle Built for Two, Gentleman Jim Corbett, Income Tax, William Jennings Bryan, Changing Styles—these and a host of others are the topics discussed. The two hundred-odd illustrations are admirably chosen and add much to what is easily one of the best accounts of the period published in recent years. It is to be greatly hoped that the companion volume will soon be forthcoming.

The second revised edition of Principles of Labor Legislation (Harper and Brothers, New York and London, 1927. xvi, 616 pp.), by John R. Commons and John B. Andrews, brings up to date (1926) what has proved to be an extremely worthwhile work. Basically, the volume has not been changed. All the chapters, however, have been rewritten so as to include the developments of the last half dozen years in the field of labor legislation. Naturally, the bibliography as well as the cases cited have also undergone revision. This edition merits wide use.

Professors Emerson D. Fite and Archibald Freeman deserve high praise for compiling and editing A Book of Old Maps Delineating American History from the Earliest Days Down to the Close of the Revolutionary War (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1926. xv, 299 pp.). From their hiding places in the great libraries of Europe and America seventy-four maps have been gathered into this volume. The list includes the World Map by Claudius Ptolemy, 1478; the Universalis Cosmographia by Martin Waldsee-Muller, 1507; a Description des Costs & Isles de la Nouvelle France by Sieur De Champlain, 1607; a Portraiture of the City of Philadelphia by Thomas Holme, 1683; and the celebrated "King's Map," A Map of the British Colonies in North America by John Mitchell, 1755, which was the personal property of George III.

Each map is in reality a historical document, for it represents a story of human daring and adventure, and at the same time reveals the halting ideas of both the explorers and the contemporary map-makers as to where various expeditions had been and what they had accomplished. Some of the maps are of more interest to the student of history than others. All, however, have been edited with great care. Each map is accompanied with a descriptive essay which, wherever possible, presents a short sketch of the map-maker, together with short references to the historical narrative of the period and short bibliographies. The publishers are to be congratulated on the general make-up of the volume. It should find a place in every well-equipped private and public library.

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UNITED STATES AND DEPENDENCIES

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The Origin of "Manifest Destiny." Julius W. Pratt (American Historical Review, July).
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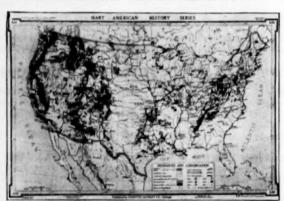
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